RECOLLECTIONS OF SIXTY YEARS

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.

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BY

The Rt. Hon. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.,

G.C.M.G., C.B.

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Recollections of Sixty Years

BIOGRAPHICAL FOREWORD

Born in 1821, Sir Charles Tupper at ninety-two is an interesting psychological study, as much for his present outlook on life at that advanced age as on account of his remarkable achievements. The oldest living statesman in the world, he reminds one of a stately and venerable oak which, unaffected by the storms of earlier years, still exhibits wonderful vitality. Unlike men twenty years his junior, who are living in the past and who have lost all concern in everything except their immediate surroundings, Sir Charles still feels the pulse-beat of the world day by day.

His mind is as keen and plastic, his memory, even of recent happenings, as clear as they were during his early manhood. He is at once a surprise and a revelation to friends and relatives. He is a constant reader of the magazines and newspapers, watching with deep interest the progress of events at home and abroad.

Sir Charles is descended from sturdy stock. The sprig of may-flower in his arms is commemorative of Thomas Tupper, the Puritan ancestor, who emigrated from England to America in 1635, and at once engaged energetically in an effort to

convert the Indians. His son, Eliakim, was the great-grandfather of Sir Charles Tupper. It was Eliakim who migrated from Connecticut and established the Tuppers in King's County, Nova Scotia, taking possession in 1763 of Crown lands vacated by the deported Acadian French. The statesman's father, the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., was a man of great force of character, a gifted linguist and an eloquent preacher. Sir Charles received his education at Horton Academy, Wolfeville, and later took the medical course at the University of Edinburgh, graduating in 1843, and being admitted to membership of the Royal College of Surgeons. Returning to Nova Scotia, he began practice in his native county, Cumberland, making Amherst his headquarters. His great ability, dominating personality, and proficiency in his profession soon attracted public attention.

In person he has been described as of medium height, straight, muscular and wiry, and with intense nervous energy, which gave him quickness of movement and ceaseless mental activity. For twelve years he lived and worked as a general medical practitioner, in a district which entailed long journeys in all weathers—but from which he extracted the utmost pleasure. The harder the work the more he enjoyed it; the more difficult the problems he had to face the greater his delight in tackling and conquering them.

On the hustings, with a courage which never failed him, he crossed swords with the Hon. Joseph Howe, whom he drove from power not many years later. In 1855 Dr. Tupper, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, accepted the party nomination.

The campaign proved an unusually exciting one, as Howe, his opponent, enjoyed the prestige of being a great orator. It was a battle royal, and the province awakened to the fact that the Liberal leader had met a worthy foeman, who asked and gave no quarter.

The result, however, was a sweeping victory for the Liberals, redeemed only by Dr. Tupper's defeat of Howe. On returning to Halifax, Howe told his friends that he had been beaten by the future leader of the Conservative party. At a later date Howe unsuccessfully sought an alliance with Dr. Tupper.

At the first caucus after the election the Hon. W. J. Johnstone, the Opposition leader, whose long career had been no less brilliant than that of Howe, expressed a desire for only nominal leadership, leaving the actual work to his young colleague. Before this arrangement became effective Dr. Tupper, with the assurance of a veteran statesman, declared that his party must reverse its hostile attitude towards the Roman Catholics; that the true policy was equal rights to all, without regard to race or creed; and that all hostility to the railway policy of the Government must be abandoned. His counsel proved sound. for a month after the opening of the House the Opposition had increased its voting strength from fifteen to twenty-two, as compared with twenty-eight for the Government. The Conservatives attained power in the following year, but were, however, defeated by a small margin in 1859.

Four years later the Conservatives swept the province, and again Dr. Tupper refused the lead,

deferring to his old chieftain, Johnstone, whose connection with politics dated back to 1838. Mr. Johnstone resigned from the Government the following year to accept the position of judge in equity and Dr. Tupper succeeded him as Premier. Many changes in the policy of his party had been made during the preceding nine years. Howe, by advocating the proscription of Roman Catholics, aroused bitter sectarian strife throughout the province. Dr. Tupper, on the other hand, by his tolerant views, won hosts of new supporters. Mr. Howe justified himself on the ground that his mission to New York, to raise recruits for the British Army in the Crimea from among expatriated Britishers, had been rendered unsuccessful by the hostile opposition of Irish Americans. On one occasion troops were called out at Halifax to suppress religious riots. The end of the affair was that Mr. Cranston, the British Minister at Washington, was dismissed because of his zeal, or supposed connection with Mr. Howe's alleged breach of international law.

In connection with his championship of the cause of equal rights for all creeds, the following letter, written to Sir Charles Tupper on the announcement of his retirement in 1900 by the Catholic Archbishop of Halifax, bears testimony to the esteem which this policy of toleration secured for him:

Archbishop's House, Halifax, N.S.,
Nov. 16th, 1900.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have read with regret that you have determined to quit public life. No doubt you have well earned an honourable repose;

whilst this quite justifies your resolution, it cannot diminish our regret.

The many and great services you have rendered your country during your political life will keep your memory green in the hearts of generations as yet unborn, and will be a more fitting and enduring monument than one of bronze or stone.

It is pleasant to be able to bear testimony not only on my own part, but also on that of my predecessors, to the confidence reposed in your fair-mindedness and your desire of dealing justly by all classes and creeds. You began your political career, I rejoice to know, as the champion of equal rights for Catholics; you persevered consistently in that cause; you lost power because of that consistency; but defeat with honour unstained is more glorious than victory purchased by the sacrifice of principle. What many will say after your death, I wish to say while you are alive.

With sincerest best wishes for the health and happiness of Lady Tupper and yourself,

I remain, dear Sir Charles,

Yours very truly,

F. C. O'Brien,

Archbishop of Halifax.

Previous to 1864 the confederation of the British North Americas had been discussed in legislative assemblies, in lectures and newspapers, only, however, in a theoretic and academic manner. As far back as 1838 it was the subject of a conference between representatives of the various provinces and Lord Durham, the Governor-General, at Quebec.

In 1860 Dr. Tupper, then in opposition, was invited to open the Mechanics' Institute at St. John, N.B. This he did by a lecture on "The Political Condition of British North America," in which he declared for Confederation unreservedly. In the light of later events parts of this speech were indeed prophetic.* After reviewing the condition of the scattered provinces, he said:

"*Who could doubt that under these circumstances, with such a federation of the five provinces (to which ultimately the Red River and the Saskatchewan country might be added) as would give us the position due to our extent, resources and intelligent population, untrammelled either by slavery or the ascendancy of any dominant Church; almost the last country where civil and religious liberty exists, British America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would in a few years present to the world a great and powerful organisation; with British institutions, sympathies and feelings; bound indissolubly to the throne of England by a community of interests, and united to it by the viceroyalty of one of the promising sons of our beloved Queen, whose virtues have enthroned her in the hearts of her subjects in every section of an Empire upon which the sun never sets.*"

In the session of 1861 Premier Howe, who was an astute politician and keenly alive to the activities of his young rival, submitted a resolution to the Nova Scotia Legislature in favour of Confederation. The resolution was seconded by Dr. Tupper, and was unanimously adopted. This was

* The greater part of this lecture is reprinted in Chapter I of this volume.

not the first time that Howe had advocated political union of the Canadian provinces, and his subsequent change of front was all the more unexpected, except to those who discerned the motives that prompted his subsequent erratic course.

To Sir Charles Tupper alone belongs the credit of having initiated the movement that came to fruition by the passage of the North British American Act, after a struggle unparalleled for the bitterness of the feeling it engendered throughout his native province. The records of the Legislature tell in outline the earlier part of the story.

History, which is more just and more accurate than in a former age, has already given the veteran statesman full credit for the mighty part he played in one of the most dramatic constitutional struggles of modern times, and his later achievements in laying broad and deep the foundations of the young Dominion, and thus paving the way for a solidarity of sentiment, crystallising in the shape of a real and practical unity of the Mother Country and the rest of the British Empire. The substantial aid of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in the South African War, the granting of British preferential trade by the Dominion, the Colonial contributions to Imperial naval defence, form in perspective epoch-making events, in which the course of the movement is plainly discernible.

A grateful people, irrespective of party, now acknowledges the invaluable services Sir Charles Tupper rendered his country, recognises the magnitude of the struggle he engaged in, almost single-handed, at the outset in overcoming opposition to Confederation in Nova Scotia, and appreciates at

its true worth the self-effacement he displayed in stepping aside to permit other men from his native province to enter the Cabinet after he had won the victory. No such difficulties had to be overcome in Ontario and Quebec, because both parties sunk their differences to bring about the union.

Of that galaxy of far-seeing nation builders Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., alone survives. By general assent the "Father of Canada" is everywhere honoured as "Canada's Grand Old Man." Gone are his famous colleagues, Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir George E. Cartier, the Hon. George Brown, and lesser luminaries who, each in his humble way, had a share in solving the numerous problems that endangered the success of the great political experiment.

Given up by the attending physicians in England in the winter of 1911-12 when suffering from an attack of bronchitis, Sir Charles recovered, only to receive a severe blow a few months later by the death of Lady Tupper, his devoted helpmate for nearly sixty-six years. To her inspiration he has ascribed much of the success of his public career from the day, as a young doctor, he entered the political lists and defeated the Hon. Joseph Howe, Premier and leader of the Liberal party. Home to Nova Scotia he accompanied the remains to the place of interment at Halifax.

Happily the doctors' forebodings were not realised, and under the devoted care of his son, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, and Lady Tupper, the health of the venerable statesman greatly improved. The cool breezes of the Pacific seemed to give him a new lease of life.

In 1913 he left Canada and again took up his residence in England. A great farewell demonstration took place in Amherst. The following letter from the Rev. E. M. Saunders, the author of "Three Premiers of Nova Scotia," gives an interesting glimpse of the function:

Halifax: June 25th, 1913.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—The interview given by you to the London *Post* on your arrival at Liverpool is the last we have heard from you since you left St. John.

April gave us five or six days of beautiful weather in which to welcome you to Nova Scotia. Had you known beforehand that it would have been so fine, you might have favoured Halifax with a call. After lunching with you on Monday, I went on the streets and mingled with the people. The demonstration was in every way grand and satisfactory. While looking upon the 2,000 from the Amherst schools each bearing a Union Jack, the contrast in Nova Scotia with the state of the schools and the country previous to the Free Common School Bill of 1865, thrilled me. I felt like shouting.

Ex-Mayor Chisholm told me of meeting you on Monday evening and of your address to the Halifax delegation. I wondered at your power of endurance in the campaigns of 1896 and 1900, but I was amazed when I saw what you went through on Monday at Amherst.

All rejoiced when it was known that you reached your home at Bexley Heath safely.

In conversation with Dr. Allison, ex-President

of Mt. Allison College, I learned that at their anniversary exercises this year, among other things in his speech on that occasion, he told the audience that in 1863 he and George King went to Amherst on nomination day, and after it was known that you were elected by acclamation, you made a grand speech. You told the assembly that the knowledge you had of other cases in which members went in as you did, and other knowledge, warranted you in being assured that the Opposition would carry the country by a large majority. You also told the electors that there were two great measures which it was your purpose to introduce and carry. One was a free system of education supported by assessments for Nova Scotia, and the Union of the Maritime Provinces the other.

Dr. A. has promised to write out this part of his address for me. In your "Life" there is no reference to your speech on nomination day. I simply state that you went in by acclamation, and left Amherst immediately for Lunenburg, when you met and defeated Howe. George King became the author of the N.S. School Bill.

With very kind regards in which my wife and daughters unite,

I am, very sincerely yours,
E. M. Saunders.

Sir Charles does not look his great age. His voice is still clear and resonant, his hearing excellent, and he never uses glasses except when reading. His complexion has a ruddy freshness that is surprising in one of his years.

Courage, forcefulness and tenacity of purpose

are still clearly revealed in those massive features surmounted by a large forehead. The eyes still flash with something of their old fire when the subject under discussion is an appealing one, and there is also a tightening of the lines around an unusually strong chin. It is difficult to realise that over sixty years have elapsed since he delivered his first political speech. The former sobriquets applied to him in an earlier day, "War Horse of Cumberland" and "The Fighting Doctor," have been justly merited.

That a career of such wonderful activity should have gained Imperial honours is no cause for surprise. His record of offices stands: Premier of Nova Scotia, 1867; President of Privy Council of the Dominion of Canada, 1870–2; Minister of Inland Revenue, 1872–3; Minister of Customs, 1873; Minister of Public Works, 1878–9; Minister of Railways and Canals, 1879–84; High Commissioner for Canada in England, 1883–7, 1888–96; Minister of Finance, 1887–8; one of H.M.'s Plenipotentiaries on Fishery Commission, Washington, 1887–8, and to negotiate treaty between Canada and France, 1893; Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, 1896.

The C.B. was conferred in 1867 and a knighthood (K.C.M.G.) in 1878. The G.C.M.G. was bestowed in 1886, and was announced to Sir Charles by the Rt. Hon. Frederick Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby) in the following manner:

5 *Portland Place: Jan.* 30, 1886.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have the satisfaction of informing you that the Queen, upon my recom-

mendation, has been pleased to raise you to the rank of Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

I congratulate you on the distinction, which will be universally recognised as having been well earned by your great services to the Dominion and to the Mother Country, and it affords me great pleasure to have been enabled, before giving up the seals of the Colonies, to make the communication to you.

In conclusion, let me thank you sincerely for the kindness and courtesy which I have uniformly received from you during my short tenure of office. —With best wishes, I remain, dear Sir Charles, yours truly, FRED STANLEY.

In 1888 a baronetcy was bestowed, and ten years later a Privy Councillorship. In the latter connection Sir Charles received the following letters:

Government House, Ottawa,
November 11th, 1907.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have written to the King to inform him of your desire to make known to His Majesty how deeply you appreciate the great honour conferred upon you in appointing you a member of his Privy Council. I can assure you, my dear Sir Charles, that no recommendation I have ever had the honour of making for submission to His Majesty has given me so much pleasure as that which I derived from the recommendation which it was my privilege to forward with the full approval of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that you, one of the Fathers of the Confederation, should be admitted to the Privy Council. As

this honour is the highest to which, in my opinion, a subject of the Crown or mortal man can aspire, it gave me the very liveliest satisfaction to be the medium of conveying to you His Majesty's desire. That you may long enjoy sufficient health to enable you to continue that faithful service to Crown and Empire with which your name is so honourably associated, is the very sincere prayer of yours most truly, GREY.

Privy Council Office,
Oct. 17, 1908.

DEAR SIR,—A note just received from Lord Knollys contains the following message:

"The King says he hopes Sir C. Tupper will by all means bring his stick with him when he is sworn in as P.C."—Yours faithfully,

J. H. HARRISON.

Many tributes have been paid by writers in both hemispheres to this grand old statesman—now nearing his ninety-third birthday—one of which may be well quoted here as representative of them all: "The two aims he always kept in view," said one who knew him well, "as a loyal subject to his Sovereign and as a jealous guardian of the honour of his people, have been the strengthening of the golden link which connects Great Britain with the first and greatest of her colonies, and the holding aloft of the standard of the right of the nation, so that she may prove herself worthy of the proud position she has made her own."

CHAPTER I

The Union of the Maritime Provinces

My earliest political energies were devoted to securing the union of the Maritime Provinces, and to show the line of argument adopted and the conditions then existent in "British North America," I cannot do better than give the following extract from the lecture I delivered at the opening of the Mechanics' Institute, St. John, in 1860, on "The Political Condition of British North America":

"Independently of the great Red River and Saskatchewan country lying between Canada and the Rocky Mountains, and the gold-bearing district of British Columbia between those mountains and the Pacific—an immense country now fast rising into importance—we find these five British North American provinces, with a population larger than the old colonies had at the time that the ignorance and injustice of the British Government lost them—the brightest gem of the Crown of England.

"The population of British North America exceeds that of Greece, Denmark, Hanover, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Portugal, Saxony, Switzerland, or Würtemberg, and nearly equals that of Bavaria or Belgium. Her area is greater than that of all those countries put together, with Russia, England, Ireland and Scotland added.

Her exports are greater than were those of the United States in 1790, whose exports as recently as 1830 were not double what Canada now boasts.

"The revenue of British North America exceeds that of Greece, Saxony, or Switzerland, and is nearly as large as that of Denmark, while her tonnage surpasses that possessed by the United States in 1790.

"In view of all these facts, it will not be considered strange that, looking to the future, conscious of the boundless expansion of which our country and our resources are capable, we should begin to inquire whether our political position is such as we are relatively entitled to among the communities of the earth.

"The time best suited to the calm and rational investigation of such questions is previous to any imperative necessity arising for an immediate solution. The very nature of colonial institutions involves continual change to meet the altered circumstances which progress induces. The present comparatively free institutions which we enjoy would have been impracticable at the commencement of our history. When first brought under British rule, Canadians were content to have English laws enforced simply by proclamation. Then legislation by a governor and council, under the Constitution given them by the Quebec Bill, was all that was required for the seventeen years previous to 1791, when a Legislature was first constituted. It is worthy of remark that a large portion of the inhabitants then petitioned against this extension of their privileges, as unsuited to their condition. Even down to the union of the

Canadas in 1840, self-government was anything but conceded to that colony. Lord Sydenham wrote in December, 1839:

"'My Ministers vote against me. I govern through the Opposition, who are truly Her Majesty's.'

"It will thus be seen that the political institutions of a colony must vary with its changing condition. The system of government conceded by Lord John Russell, and hailed with such enthusiasm as a sovereign panacea for every political ill a few years since, has not given universal satisfaction or been unattended with difficulties. In Prince Edward Island the departmental system, as practised in the other provinces, has been abandoned, after a vain attempt to make it work satisfactorily. In Newfoundland it may be said to be almost impracticable. In Canada the talented leader of the Opposition, the Hon. George Brown, has declared the system of responsible government as practised in that colony to be 'a delusion and a snare,' while the Conservative Ministry, who are in power there, represented in a State paper to the British Government in 1858 that:

"'Very grave difficulties now present themselves in conducting the government of Canada in such a manner as to show due regard to the wishes of its numerous population,' and requested the parent State to authorise a meeting of delegates from the different provinces to discuss constitutional changes of the most extensive character. More need not be said to show that the discussion of questions relating to our political position is by no means premature.

"Let us, then, inquire whether our present political status is such as to meet our material progress and satisfy the natural and laudable ambition of free and intelligent minds.

"It must be evident to everyone in the least degree acquainted with our history, that at present we are without name or nationality—comparatively destitute of influence and of the means of occupying the position to which we may justly aspire. What is a British-American but a man regarded as a mere dependent upon an Empire which, however great and glorious, does not recognise him as entitled to any voice in her Senate, or possessing any interests worthy of Imperial regard. This may seem harsh, but the past is pregnant with illustrations of its truth. What voice or influence had New Brunswick when an English peer settled most amicably the dispute with an adjoining country by giving away a large and important slice of her territory to a foreign power? Where were the interests of these Maritime Provinces when another English nobleman relieved England of the necessity of protecting our fisheries by giving them away to the same Republic, without obtaining any adequate consideration for a sacrifice so immense?

"Mr. Lindsay, the able and enlightened advocate of the shipping interest of England, found that he had visited the United States on a bootless errand—that the only price for which they could be induced to surrender the enjoyment of their coasting trade to British vessels was the long-coveted permission to enjoy over five thousand miles of sea-coast in common with ourselves, and

reap a rich reward from our fishing grounds while they establish themselves as a leading maritime power.

"It may be said that we were a party to the negotiation of that treaty, but it is not so. The very mode in which the colonies interested were invited to participate was simply an insult. They were permitted to *concur*, but not consulted in the arrangements.

"The Reciprocity Treaty has undoubtedly largely benefited both the provinces and our American neighbours, and with the concession to us of the right to register colonial-built vessels and enjoy the coasting trade would have been worthy of its name.

"The proposal to abrogate that treaty, although mooted in the States, is not very likely to be seriouly entertained by a country whose trade with the British North American colonies has under its influence more than trebled within four years, having risen from sixteen million in 1852 to fifty million in 1856, employing a tonnage of over three and a half millions of tons upon the lakes and the Atlantic coast, one half of which belonged to the States.

"The evidence that these colonies are destitute of all influence with the Imperial Government lies around us in thick profusion. Never were the interests and feeling of subjects more trifled with than have been ours in a question of the most vital importance—the Inter-colonial Railway. From the time that astute and far-seeing statesman, Earl Durham, proposed the statesmanlike project of connecting these colonies by rail, the various provinces have manifested the deepest

interest in it, although it was a work fraught with Imperial interests quite as great as any of a colonial character. These provinces cheerfully defrayed the heavy expense attending the survey organised by Mr. Gladstone; successive Secretaries of State have entertained that great scheme, and committed the faith of the British Government to it, but only to end in disappointment—alleging difficulties as to the route and the want of agreement among the different provinces. Under the impression that the value of this great national as well as colonial undertaking was really appreciated in England, and encouraged by a dispatch which said that the subject would shortly receive the serious consideration of the British Cabinet, the three Governments of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia sent a joint delegation to London in 1858. While I feel bound to admit that we were treated at the Colonial Office with all due courtesy, and had every personal attention bestowed upon us which we could desire, it was but too evident that the Cabinet were too much engaged with their own immediate interests to take any very deep concern in a subject so remote, and urged by parties who were unable to bring to their support votes in the Commons. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton did seem a little aroused to the importance of the question, and concurred in the feasibility of our proposal; and Mr. Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to whom we were referred, admitted that the question had assumed a really practicable shape; yet, although the three provinces who, unaided, had done so much towards accomplishing this national work unitedly pressed upon the

attention of the British Government a scheme which would have completed it without any increased drain upon the British Exchequer, or have involved the outlay of an additional shilling —as we merely required subsidies for the performance of the services for which the Imperial Government now pays a much larger sum—without taking the trouble even to verify the accuracy of our calculations by reference to the public departments, this country was coolly informed that 'Her Majesty's Government have not found themselves at liberty to accede to the proposal.'

"As a striking commentary upon the impotent position we occupy with the parent State, it may be added that while these vital interests, so deeply affecting the welfare of the colonies and the Empire, were thus ignored, Her Majesty's Government could give a subsidy to the Galway Steam Packet Company of £65,000 sterling per annum to perform a service already much better provided for, which was not only entirely indefensible, but directly inimical to the interests of Canada, whose Legislature had already subsidised a line of ocean steamers at a cost to their own revenue of £45,000 sterling per annum, and with which this Galway Packet Company would compete.

"The reason of this disregard of colonial interests is sufficiently obvious. The relative merits of the two services could not have obtained a moment's consideration. Our claim was not backed by votes in the Commons, where three millions of British North Americans have no voice or influence.

"The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, of the

Differential Duties in 1848, and of the Navigation Laws in 1849, swept away all protection from every colonial product except timber, which has more recently shared the same fate.

"It was only in 1859 that Imperial statesmen gravely proposed to deny to Canada the right to regulate her own taxation for the purpose of raising the necessary revenue demanded by the public service. The spirited and independent manner in which Mr. Galt vindicated on that occasion the rights of the colonies will probably settle that question for the future.

"Our position is ever one of uncertainty. We have no Constitution but the *dicta* of the ever-changing occupants of Downing Street, who can only see us through the glasses furnished them by those whom accident has sent into what is regarded as the temporary exile of a colonial governorship, and whose feelings, sympathies, and interests are entirely foreign to our own. Let us cite one from among many a memorable instance of those fluctuations of opinion on matters of the most serious importance. The Government of Nova Scotia in 1857 charged two delegates, the late and the present Attorneys-General, to discuss with the British Government the grave question of a union of the colonies. The Secretary of State informed them that it was entirely a question for the consideration of the colonies themselves. In conformity with that intimation the Governor-General of Canada proposed to open a correspondence upon the subject, by which the sentiments of the different colonies might be obtained, when he was promptly informed by another Colonial Secre-

tary that it was an Imperial question, and with a pretty significant hint that it was one which did not obtain much Imperial favour.

"We do not even enjoy responsible government in the sense in which it exists in England, viz.: that of government being administered according to the well understood wishes of the people, and ever amenable to the public sentiment of the country—the great feature that exalts British institutions over those of the United States.

"The systematic exclusion of colonists from gubernatorial positions must for ever prevent us from having great men. The human mind naturally adapts itself to the position it occupies. The most gigantic intellect may be dwarfed by being 'cribbed, cabined, and confined.' It requires a great country and great circumstances to develop great men.

"British North Americans must seek in other lands than their own an opportunity of achieving greatness of any description, while as at present they are excluded from the only position in their own country worthy the ambition of any man who possesses the capacity to serve the State. Regarded as occupying a position altogether insignificant by the Imperial authorities as well as surrounding nations; cut up into small and isolated communities, without common interests or facilities for mutual intercourse; destitute of broad questions of general interest to mankind, there can necessarily exist nothing but petty and personal interests to occupy their public men. Especially is this the case in these Maritime Provinces; and the effect must soon result in our institutions pre-

senting an aspect of the most detrimental character. One of the greatest evils that can ever befall any country is that men of character, ability, and position should withdraw from her public concerns. What have we to tempt a man possessing such advantages to engage in political life and expose himself to toil, anxiety, and all the turmoil which here attends the most ardent devotion to the interests of the State? Nothing. The highest offices we have to offer, and the largest salaries we give, afford no adequate temptation, no sufficient remuneration; while the greatest ability he can display, and the highest reputation he can achieve, will fail to open up a pathway to any distinction beyond. Nor are these provinces without significant illustrations of the unhappy effect of the misfortune to which I have adverted.

"In the absence of larger questions of statesmanship which occupy more extended communities, we see men of ability, instead of aiming at lofty reputations, desecrating the talent which God has given them by fomenting sectional or sectarian discord, and placing one section or religious class in deadly antagonism with another, because the official positions to which we can aspire may thus be more readily attained.

"What is it renders Britain the great and glorious Empire that she is—that gives such solidity to her institutions and such power to her name? It is to be found in the fact that she has great rewards for her sons, and thus makes the service of the State the highest ambition of her children, from the proudest duke down to the humblest commoner.

"Let us now briefly turn our attention to the more difficult question: how these serious defects in our political condition, to which we have adverted, may be removed. Various are the modes which have been suggested at different periods, and a wide diversity of opinion doubtless still prevails as to what constitutional changes would be most advantageous.

"The day has long since passed when the idea of annexation to our republican neighbours, or the formation of an independent republic, was entertained in any portion of these provinces. We look with mingled pride and admiration to the splendid and enduring institutions of our much-loved Mother Country coming, as they ever do, brighter and purer out of the trying ordeals which have shaken so many other nations to their foundations, prostrating governments and leaving disorder, anarchy, or despotism among their ruins.

"All classes among us ardently desire that we may be in a position to strengthen the hands of the parent State and share her glories in the cause of human civilisation and progress, continuing no longer a source of weakness, but building up on this side of the Atlantic a powerful confederation which shall be in reality an integral portion of her Empire.

"The Earl of Durham delineated his views on this subject twenty years ago in that enduring monument of his perspicuous statesmanship—his Report on the affairs of British North America. With great ability he there adopted and extended the views propounded so early as 1814 by His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, urging the importance of a legislative union of these colonies.

"The same principle was ably elaborated in the Assembly of Nova Scotia a few years ago by Mr. Johnstone; and Mr. P. S. Hamilton made it the subject of a very interesting pamphlet in 1855, and more recently brought it under the notice of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle in a more condensed form. Mr. Howe, it is well known, has advocated, with great force and ability, representation for these colonies in the Imperial Parliament; and has urged with his usual vigour and eloquence the advantage of turning to account the information of colonial statesmen, both by appointing them to preside over the colonies and to aid in their management in subordinate offices in Downing Street.

"In Canada, besides the various occasions on which it has been discussed by many of her public men, a project for the federal union of these colonies was proposed to the Legislature in 1858 by that eminent Minister of Finance of the Canadian Government, Mr. Galt, and was subsequently warmly sustained in an able State paper addressed by that gentleman, Mr. Cartier, the Premier of the Canadian Administration, and Mr. Ross, the President of the Executive Council, to the Colonial Secretary. Mr. George Brown, the former leader of the Opposition in Canada, Mr. J. S. Macdonald, and many other Canadian statesmen, have again and again committed themselves to the same views. In 1859 it obtained the eloquent advocacy of the accomplished P. Darcy McGee, one of the members for Montreal, who made it the subject of a forcible address to the Legislature.

"On one point, however, whatever may be the form it may assume, the general opinion seems to

be in favour of the grand principle of union. Some advantage would doubtless ensue from representation in the Imperial Parliament, but that, I conceive, would not be acceptable to the people of these provinces in the only way it could be obtained—accompanied by the taxation borne by those who are thus represented. To occupy the invidious position of sitting in the Commons and speaking on matters of colonial import, but denied the right to vote, would be objectionable to any independent mind, and would be unattended with any substantial advantage.

"Little doubt can be entertained that the selection of colonial governors from among colonists would be followed by highly beneficial results. A career of honourable distinction would thus be opened up which would at the same time attract the services of those who are most capable of serving the State, and ensure due regard to a high-minded and honourable political course of action as most likely to obtain the favour of the Crown, while it secured the confidence of the inhabitants generally throughout the colonies. The temptation to obtain immediate and temporary success at the sacrifice of broad principles would be thus materially diminished. The advantage which would arise from the conviction on the minds of the leading public men in all the provinces that the able discharge of the duties of their respective offices might lead to their elevation to a position affording some adequate reward, and attended by honourable distinction, could hardly be overestimated in its immediate operation upon the condition of the country.

"It would be an insult to the leading men in British North America to inquire whether she possesses those equally well qualified for the position of colonial governors with any that are likely to come from abroad. Infinitely better acquainted with the country and the character of the people—and dependent for their promotion not upon the adventitious circumstances of birth or parliamentary connections and influence in England—the people would have a much better assurance than at present that their wishes and interests would be regarded. And why should we be called upon to sustain this brand of inferiority upon ourselves at so great a cost both pecuniary and otherwise? The highest salary paid to a departmental officer in Nova Scotia is $2,800; in New Brunswick, $2,600; while we are called upon in each province to pay a gentleman from England—who performs duties not a tithe as arduous as those devolved upon other officials—no less than $15,000 a year as salary, and to contribute a large additional amount towards maintaining his establishment.

"Another important point in connection with this part of our subject, far transcending in importance any question of the amount of salary, is the security which would thus be afforded that in cases of appeal to the Mother Country—and appeals there must be so long as governors are only amenable to Imperial authority—when the governor, in the exercise of his prerogative, acts unconstitutionally and in opposition to the wishes of the people, justice would be done impartially, and a constitutional decision given, which would not be

open to the imputation of party bias from the recollection of past services, or the claims or influence of friends in either the Lords or Commons. This one change in our colonial system would give new life and vigour to our institutions, upon which, under existing circumstances, many have ceased to look hopefully.

"The more important consideration, undoubtedly, is the union of the provinces. It would be premature to decide definitely on any particular plan by which that might be accomplished until the subject is discussed—as discussed it must be, and that at no distant date—by the leading men of all these provinces, and of all parties, in conclave.

"The desirability of the union in any form being once arrived at, there is little reason to doubt that it could be arranged in a manner satisfactory to all sections of the confederation, and giving to the whole the advantages of the highest character not now enjoyed, while it would not materially detract from any privileges of a local character at present in their possession.

"Without, therefore, entering further at present upon details which it seems premature to discuss, it only remains for us to notice some of the more prominent results likely to flow from a union of the provinces.

"It would give us nationality. Instead of being Newfoundlanders, Nova Scotians, Prince Edward Islanders, New Brunswickers, and Canadians, often confounded abroad with the inhabitants of Nova Zembla and similarly favoured regions, we should be universally known as *British*

Americans, occupying a country of vast extent, with a soil of unusual fertility, and rich in all the natural resources and mineral productions which have made Britain the emporium of commerce and manufactures for the world.

"Instead of being divided by petty jealousies, as at present, and legislating against each other, with five hostile tariffs, five different currencies, and our postal communications under the control of five different departments, we should, drawn together by a common interest and with a common system of jurisprudence, obtain that unity of action which is essential to progress. No part of the known world is better adapted for such union, so little antagonistic in point of local interests, as the different parts of British America. Nor could these interests be materially compromised by any legislation. Take Halifax and St. John, for instance, in both of which places it has been the endeavour of little minds to excite a mutual jealousy. Nature has placed Halifax in the most advantageous position for communication with the European world; but she has not located her harbour at the mouth of a magnificent artery of communication such as St. John can boast, with a fertile country immediately contiguous. Nova Scotia possesses coal fields of unrivalled extent and value; yet she has but a tithe of the fertile ungranted lands with which New Brunswick invites the immigrant to make her country his home.

"No legislation can materially disturb these immense natural yet diverse advantages which Providence has bountifully bestowed on each; but, divided by mutual distrust and jealousy, we

may each seriously retard the common interests and advancement of two provinces which, together with Prince Edward Island, ought *now* to be united in one legislative union.

"The same principle applies to the whole. While Canada was exporting bread stuffs to the amount of nine millions of dollars in 1857, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were importing over two millions of the same article. In the same year, while these two provinces imported from the West Indies nearly two millions in exchange for our exports to those islands, Canada imported from the same quarter to the amount of four and a half millions of dollars without having anything to send in return. While Nova Scotia exports an enormous amount of coal to the United States, probably not much if at all under three hundred thousand tons this year, Canada depends on importation for the same article.

"Union will give us broader questions of a character infinitely more elevated than those which at present divide our public men.

"The want of such a field has exercised a most baneful and pernicious influence in these colonies, where we too often see public men of undoubted ability, instead of being engaged in the discussion of great principles and patriotically emulating each other in the promotion of enlarged views, by which the prosperity of their country might be increased, and rivalling each other in the onward path of progress, stooping to the despicable and demoralising expedient of advocating their own personal ends and immediate interests by exciting a war of creeds or nationalities, where it should

be the pride of every man to sustain unsullied the glorious principles of civil and religious equality —principles upon the maintenance of which depends to a large extent the future greatness of British America.

"There is another question which has recently been pressed upon our attention which deserves a passing notice—the local defence of these colonies. Canada, it is true, has annually expended about one hundred thousand dollars for that purpose, and recently a general movement has been made to wipe out the provincial disgrace that in these lower colonies no means of local defence existed.

"Stimulated by the great Volunteer movement in Britain, and the possibility that the day was not distant when our services would be needed, a considerable body of riflemen has been organised. All our experience, however, tells us that, except in connection with some movement of a national character, it will be almost impossible to sustain the interest in a question even so important as this is in every respect. That British North America has the ability to bring into the field at no distant day an able body of trained and effective men, to defend her interests in time of peril and, what is equally necessary, sustain in time of peace that feeling of self-reliance essential to the formation of national character, cannot be doubted. The enthusiasm with which thousands have rushed forward at the first faint call, and the proficiency of the Volunteer corps which in so brief a period has attracted the admiration of distinguished soldiers who have visited us, is conclusive on that point. The martial courage and military talent of our

sons will not be questioned while we can point with pride to the heights of Alma, the plains of Inkerman, the terrible Redan, where, foremost among the first, their blood was shed; even though in the beleaguered fortresses of Kars and Lucknow we had not given England generals who sustained her military glory in the hour of need.

"Those not immediately engaged in it can hardly appreciate the sacrifice of time and money demanded of those who have enlisted themselves in this arduous undertaking; and it requires neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet to foretell its rapid decline, unless sustained with enthusiasm and liberality by the wealth and intelligence of the country, comprising all parties.

"No patronage or aid from any or all of these sources will for a moment compare with imparting to such a body of men a national character, and devolving upon them national duties and responsibilities.

"If anyone doubts the ability of a country possessing the population and resources of British America to raise an effective arm of defence, let them but examine the history of Sardinia, Switzerland, or the United States during their struggle for independence, and their misgivings must be speedily dispelled.

"Then, instead of being, as at present, a source of weakness to the parent State, we should, like vigorous offshoots, nourish and sustain her in any hour of need.

"The Union of the Colonies, as a question of political economy, is not unworthy of consideration. A similarity in our tariffs with colonial

free trade, would at the same time afford us mutual advantages and protection, and relieve us from a large portion of the expense now attendant upon the collection of the revenue. In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island—three provinces that might, with much greater advantage to each other in every respect, be comprised under one government—*thirty-six thousand dollars per annum* are expended in the salaries of governors alone, and over one hundred thousand dollars in legislative expenses every session. Including Canada and Newfoundland, the former cost over eighty thousand dollars, and the latter between seven hundred and eight hundred thousand dollars.

"It must be apparent to everybody at all acquainted with our condition, that the expenditure of this large amount of money is counterbalanced by no adequate return, and that, by a unity of interests, results much more beneficial might be obtained, together with a largely diminished expenditure.

"Take, again, the vitally important question of intercommunication, and the necessity of union and concerted action becomes still more apparent. Destitute of such concert, in an evil hour for the interests of these provinces the Government of Nova Scotia refused to co-operate in the arrangements made by Canada and New Brunswick, which, if not thus frustrated, would ere this have given us an unbroken line of railway from Halifax through New Brunswick to the western limits of Canada, affording us at the same time communication with the twenty thousand miles of railway in the United States. Thus foiled in carrying out

the magnificent project in which they were engaged, the Grand Trunk Company were obliged to seek an Atlantic outlet for the vast products of Canada through a foreign State and compelled to lease the line to Portland. What has been the result? Nova Scotia has expended nearly five millions of dollars in the construction of railways, which, local and isolated in their character, afford neither stimulus to her trade nor intercourse with her neighbours, while for many years to come her revenue must be largely taxed to meet the payment of the interest on the debt thus created.

"The position of New Brunswick is but little better, although, perhaps, not quite so discouraging. Canada, notwithstanding the investment by the Government of more than *twenty millions of dollars*, occupies the precarious and dependent position of having her whole trade for a large portion of the year subject to the caprice of a rival and not always very friendly power.

"Much as the British Government is to blame for allowing such a state of things to continue, and blindly as they have refused to regard the great Imperial interests involved, the neglect of which may at any moment require an outlay on their part infinitely greater than any aid required to have accomplished this work, no one can for a moment suppose it could have existed had any tie united these colonies with a common bond.

"It is to be hoped that the folly of expecting any large results from local and isolated railways is already fully demonstrated to both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and that it has now become a first consideration with them to direct their

attention to the means by which both may be relieved from the consequences of a large debt, incurred for works not only unproductive of any directly remunerative results but also unattended by any substantial advantage to our trade or commercial importance. The conviction must have forced itself upon the public mind that we must extricate ourselves from these difficulties by obtaining connection with the railways of Canada and the United States by one or other of the routes proposed. Much has already been done towards achieving that result. The three colonies most deeply interested have not only jointly pressed a common scheme on the attention of the British Government, convincing the Derby Administration of its importance, but also enlisted the support of a large number of public men and commercial communities in the enterprise, resulting in the application to Parliament of the Boards of Trade of Liverpool and Glasgow, and other influential bodies, to carry out the scheme proposed by the Colonial Delegation of 1858.

"The visit of the Prince of Wales and the eminent men who composed the suite of His Royal Highness must have impressed them forcibly with the necessity and importance of an intercolonial railway — a work in which the Duke of Newcastle took a deep interest when Secretary for the Colonies on a former occasion.

"Canada having completed the line from Quebec to Révire du Loup; Nova Scotia, from Halifax to Truro; and New Brunswick, nearly a hundred miles of the line through this province—if the St. John Valley route or the St. Andrews and

Quebec be adopted—a comparatively small outlay would complete the communication. The extent of the work is much reduced; the Government of Britain and the British public are interested to an extent that, with the experience of the past few months, cannot fail to convince the most sceptical; the necessities of these lower provinces invite our hearty co-operation; while the difficulties in which the Grand Trunk is involved will but render the Canadian Government and the shareholders on both sides the Atlantic more anxious than before to carry out the original enterprise.

"The night of darkness that now enshrouds the prospects of these colonies in connection with their railway operations will be but the harbinger of a bright and glorious morning of advancement and prosperity; and in a brief period we shall possess a continuous line, extending from Halifax to Windsor opposite Detroit, and by the American line some four hundred miles beyond that point, through Wisconsin and Illinois, to the frontier of Iowa.

"The limited time at our disposal has only permitted me to notice in passing a few of the results likely to flow from a union of the colonies, and I fear that I have already trespassed too largely upon your kind indulgence. Permit me, therefore, in closing, to remind you that the advantage which would result from such a union is not a matter of opinion, as it has already been demonstrated by the union between Upper and Lower Canada.

"Let us, then, extend the same wholesome

principle—uniting our common interests and consolidating the whole by strengthening each other.

"Possessing as we do the healthiest climate in the world, with an immense area of fertile soil, and abounding in the richest mineral resources, all we require are wise political arrangements to attract population, capital and skill.

"Our climate is more healthy than that of England; the fertility of the soil is unsurpassed by her; our geographical position relative to the New World is the same as she occupies to the Old; our equally magnificent harbours present the same facilities for commerce; while the iron and coal, and the limestone—the possession of which has rendered her the greatest manufacturing mart of Europe—here abound to any extent in close proximity and of the most excellent quality. Who can doubt that under these circumstances, with such a confederation as these five provinces—to which, at a future day, the great Red River and Saskatchewan country, now in possession of the Hudson Bay Company, and British Columbia, on the Pacific coast, would be added—as would give us the political position due to our extent of area, our resources, and our intelligent population—untrammelled either by slavery or the ascendency of any dominant Church—presenting almost the only country where the great principles of civil and religious equality really exist, British America, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would in a few years exhibit to the world a great and powerful organisation, with British institutions, British sympathies, and British feelings, bound indissolubly to the Throne of Eng-

land by a community of interests, and united to it by the Viceroyalty of one of the promising sons of our beloved Queen, whose virtues have enthroned her in the hearts of her subjects in every section of an Empire upon which the sun never sets?"

CHAPTER II

THE FIGHT FOR CONFEDERATION

In the winter session of 1864, as Premier of Nova Scotia, I introduced and carried a resolution in favour of a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces, explaining that I regarded it as a step in the direction of a wider union, in the way of which insuperable difficulties then existed.

Delegates from the three provinces, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, were appointed to attend a conference to be held at Charlottetown on September 1st of that year. The Hon. Joseph Howe was the first man I invited to attend, as I valued the strength of his influence. Mr. Howe, however, wrote declining the invitation on the ground that he was then a Fisheries officer in the employ of the Imperial Government, but wished us success, adding that he would return from a cruise on a warship in October, and would do everything in his power to carry out any policy we adopted at Charlottetown.

After the action of the Nova Scotia Legislature, and before the Charlottetown Conference, wearied with prolonged conflict, Upper and Lower Canada made a desperate effort to relieve themselves from a tangle of difficulties that hindered all progress. The Government, being outvoted, made overtures to the Hon. George Brown, leader of the Opposi-

tion, and a coalition Government was formed with the avowed object of bringing about Confederation. Later the governors of the Maritime Provinces received a despatch from the Governor-General inquiring whether the Charlottetown Conference would receive a deputation from the Canadian Government, which wished to express its views on the wider union.

Favourable replies were sent, and we received the delegates with open arms. There was free and frank discussion of the subject, and after a ten-days' conference a motion for adjournment to meet in Quebec on October 10th, to adopt a basis of union, was agreed to. The Canadian delegates received a hearty welcome in every city and town they visited, and were handsomely entertained. The list comprised the Hon. John A. Macdonald, the Hon. George Brown, the Hon. Alexander T. Galt, the Hon. George E. Cartier, the Hon. Hector L. Langevin, the Hon. William Macdougall, and the Hon. Thos. D'Arcy McGee.

Before returning to Quebec the delegates went by steamer to Halifax, where I presided at a complimentary banquet at which the Hon. Joseph Howe, in an eloquent speech, wished all success to the Confederation movement. There was also a note of united sentiment and united purpose in the deliverances of the visiting delegates, including the Hon. John A. Macdonald, the Hon. George E. Cartier, the Hon. George Brown, and the Hon. Thos. D'Arcy McGee.

The Quebec Conference, which was also attended by delegates from Newfoundland, assembled on October 10th and concluded its deliberations on

October 27th. It met under the sanction of the Crown. The mayor, who was not any too friendly towards Confederation, presided at a banquet at which I made the principal speech in reply on behalf of the delegation from the Lower Provinces. There was a wonderful accord among the various representatives in regard to general principles involved in drafting a basis of union. We agreed that representation should be by population, and that the Province of Quebec, as most unlikely to change, should be the pivot, receiving sixty-five members for ever, and that the other provinces should have representation based on that figure in order to prevent the House of Commons becoming too large and unwieldy.

The Hon. John A. Macdonald was originally in favour of a legislative union of the whole as a matter of theory, but when he took up the subject he was in accord with the others, that the only practical solution was by the adoption of a federal scheme. There was considerable discussion as to whether the Dominion Senate should be elective or nominative. The only individual among the thirty-three delegates who raised objections to its being nominative was the Hon. Oliver Mowat, a member of the coalition Government, who, however, did not challenge a vote. That was all the more surprising as Canada at that period had an elective senate.

On my motion it was agreed that the first federal senate should be composed of the members of existing legislative councils of all the provinces, the various governments to select them in equal numbers from both parties as far as practicable.

A resolution in favour of building an inter-colonial railway was also adopted at Quebec.

My fellow delegates from Nova Scotia were the Hon. W. A. Henry, the Hon. R. B. Dickey, the Hon. Jonathan McCully, and the Hon. A. G. Archibald. A number of the delegates toured Ontario and Quebec before returning home, and received a very hearty reception. The members of the Quebec Conference agreed that the basis of the arrangement should first be endorsed by the various provincial legislatures before the Imperial Government should be asked to pass the necessary legislation to give effect to the union.

Certain happenings in the following year in the Lower Provinces made the outlook for Confederation, however, anything but favourable. Premier Tilley, in New Brunswick, appealed to the country, and had to give way to an anti-confederate Government. The same thing happened in Prince Edward Island. Under these circumstances I had no alternative but to adopt a waiting policy, feeling confident that the public, alarmed by the unfounded representations of our opponents, would sooner or later undergo a change. My surmise proved correct.

A large number of my own supporters, including prominent Halifax bankers and business men, opposed the union movement, and the Hon. Joseph Howe, then out of public life, was tempted to accept the leadership, and to repudiate completely the views he had formerly expressed. The agitation soon assumed large proportions, and the issue sharply divided the population. It was aggravated by the hostility displayed towards free schools. In 1864, owing to the backward state of education in

the province, I passed a Bill providing for a double grant to every school voluntarily accepting taxation for the support of free schools. This inducement proved a failure, and in the following year I succeeded in enacting a more sweeping measure providing for free schools, supported by compulsory taxation. As the Conservatives were the larger property holders, they offered strong opposition, while the Liberals, generally speaking, were favourable to free schools.

Seeing that New Brunswick was fast coming into line, I introduced a resolution in the Legislature in April, 1866, in favour of sending delegates, with the other provinces, to a conference in London to negotiate finally the terms of union. The resolution passed both Houses by a large majority. Subsequently the Federation party, led by the Hon. Mr. Tilley, swept New Brunswick, whose Legislature met and adopted a similar resolution. The united Parliament of Upper and Lower Canada had made a similar pronouncement in the previous year. All this cleared the way for the London Conference. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland abstained from the movement.

On December 4th, 1866, the following delegates assembled in conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London :—

Canada.—The Hon. John A. Macdonald, the Hon. George E. Cartier, the Hon. A. T. Galt, the Hon. Wm. Macdougall, the Hon. W. P. Howland, and the Hon. H. L. Langevin.

Nova Scotia.—The Hon. Charles Tupper, the Hon. W. A. Henry, the Hon. J. W. Ritchie, the Hon. J. McCully, the Hon. A. G. Archibald.

New Brunswick.—The Hon. S. L. Tilley, the Hon. Peter Mitchell, the Hon. R. D. Wilmot, the Hon. J. M. Johnson, the Hon. Charles Fisher.

I proposed that the Hon. J. A. Macdonald should be chairman of the conference, which was seconded by the Hon. S. L. Tilley, and carried unanimously. The conference then entered upon the consideration of the Quebec resolutions. On December 25th the chairman wrote informing Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State, that the delegates, who had sat steadily for twenty days, had arrived at a satisfactory conclusion, and had adopted by a unanimous vote a series of resolutions, which would be sent to the Colonial Office next day.

Draft Bills were submitted, and finally, with minor amendments, the North British America Act, uniting the five provinces, was passed by the Imperial Parliament on March 9th, 1867. At my request, by cable, the Legislature of Nova Scotia was called to meet later in the same month. I crossed the Atlantic and submitted a copy of the Confederation Act. It was approved by a large majority of both Houses. The Act passed into effect on July 1st of the same year, Sir John A. Macdonald, who had in the meantime been created a K.C.B., being called upon by Lord Monck, the first Governor-General, to form the first Government, which was composed of leading men of both parties in the several provinces.

The calling of the London Conference was the signal for the anti-confederates in Nova Scotia to send a delegation, headed by the Hon. Joseph Howe, to England, to oppose the proposed union. They bore petitions from eight Nova Scotia counties

and one signed by five members of the Legislative Council and eighteen members of the House of Assembly. This transferred the battleground from Halifax to London.

Howe wrote a pamphlet, copies of which he distributed broadcast among the members of both Houses of Parliament and the British public generally. He demanded that the matter of the union be deferred until it had been submitted to his fellow countrymen at the polls. He took the ground that the proposition would be against the best interests of the Maritime Provinces and the British Empire; and as a substitute he suggested a federation of the Empire, with colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament. This pamphlet I replied to in a letter addressed to Lord Carnarvon, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The line of attack adopted is best indicated by one of the opening paragraphs of this communication:

"Mr. Howe has rested his arguments upon his own unsupported statements. In the observations I have to make on these statements I shall take the liberty of quoting, among other authorities, one which the gentleman ought to respect, for it is his own. I shall produce, from Mr. Howe's previous public speeches and writings, the most elaborate refutation of all the reasoning by which he now endeavours to obstruct the union of the North British colonies."

Following the issue of Howe's pamphlet, the *Star*, the organ of Mr. John Bright, which had hitherto been friendly to Confederation, wheeled round, and in a leader declared that a mistake had been made. Lord Carnarvon, in a state of

consternation, sent for me and informed me that he had been called on that very day by twelve leading public men, who announced their intention of opposing the union after reading the objections raised by Howe.

I replied that I would answer Howe, and I at once wrote to the editor of the *Star*, asking for an interview. I received a favourable reply from Mr. Justin McCarthy, who then occupied that position. I called, and was received by Mr. McCarthy and his editorial colleague, Mr. Chesson. I stated my mission and submitted my reply to Howe, with a request that it be published. I also expressed a hope that if Howe failed to reply the *Star* would acknowledge its mistake.

My reply, to the following effect, duly appeared in the *Morning Star* of Wednesday, September 26, 1866:

CONFEDERATION OF BRITISH AMERICA

To the Editor of the *Star*.

SIR,—Although I have not yet seen the pamphlet, published by Mr. Howe, in opposition to the proposed confederation of the British North American provinces, you will, I hope, permit me to correct several misstatements of facts, into which you have inadvertently been betrayed by the perusal of Mr. Howe's brochure, in your article in the *Star* of the 21st inst., upon a question involving the most important consequences both to British America and the parent State. A scheme of Confederation, providing for the union of the British North American provinces under

one Government and Legislature, was arranged at Quebec in 1864 by delegates representing all sections and parties in the colonies, appointed by the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces. Both Houses of Parliament of Canada carried by very large majorities an address to Her Majesty the Queen, praying that an Act of the Imperial Parliament might be passed by which the proposed union should be consummated. The Legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have also authorised the Lieutenant-Governors of those provinces to appoint delegates, clothed with plenary powers, to arrange with delegates from Canada and with Her Majesty's Government here a plan of union to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. The co-operation of the islands of Newfoundland and Prince Edward, although desirable, is by no means so essential as to render the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—possessing an area of 400,000 square miles, and a population of nearly four million—under a united government "a lame and impotent conclusion." You will, I think, scarcely regard the statement as accurate, that "by extreme pressure on the part of the Executive the Legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick agreed to send delegates to a conference to be held in London," when the fact is stated that in New Brunswick an appeal to the electors upon this question resulted in the return of thirty-three members pledged to support Confederation, while but eight members opposed to that policy could obtain seats in the Legislative Assembly; that in the Legislative Council in

that province the confederation policy was affirmed by a majority of thirteen to five, and that in Nova Scotia the motion to authorise the appointment of delegates with plenary powers to settle this question of union was carried in the Legislative Assembly by a majority of thirty to eighteen, and in the Legislative Council by a majority of thirteen to five. As the leader of the Government of Nova Scotia I can confidently assert that no executive pressure was attempted, and that both branches of the Legislature well represent the education, intelligence, property, and industry of the colony. The statement that the Hon. Joseph Howe is "a distinguished member of the Legislature of Nova Scotia" is inaccurate. Mr. Howe, as leader of the Government, sustained an overwhelming defeat at the last general election in that province in 1863. But thirteen members out of a House of fifty-five were returned to support his Government. The constituency to whom he offered his services rejected him by a majority of over five hundred. And Mr. Howe has not since obtained a seat in the Legislature. The readers of the *Star* will be surprised to learn that Mr. Howe denies the right of the Legislature of the colony to change the Constitution of the country with the concurrence of the Imperial Parliament, when they are told that the last act of his Government was to introduce a measure to disfranchise more than one quarter of the electors who had elected the Parliament in which he was then sitting. You will probably be equally astonished when you are informed that "serious as are the geographical difficulties of a

SIR CHARLES TUPPER (1864)

confederation as put by Mr. Howe," and "certain to infuse new elements of discord into the already seething chaos of Canadian politics," as he now asserts, that gentleman, when leader of the Government of Nova Scotia in 1861, proposed to the Legislature a resolution, which was carried unanimously, declaring that "many advantages may be secured by such a union" of the British North American provinces, and authorising the appointment of delegates to promote that object. Notwithstanding the inaccuracies in your leader to which I have ventured to call your attention, I do not know that I would have troubled you with any remarks but for the following passage. You say: "The intimacy and inclination of the Maritime Provinces is not towards Canada, but towards Maine and Massachusetts, and though the men of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia are proud of their independence, they would probably prefer annexation to the United States, if it could be peaceably effected, to any confederation scheme." Although I am quite ready to admit that a number of interested bankers and political agitators have excited a great deal of prejudice against the proposed confederation, I am bold to assert that a more unfounded imputation upon the loyalty of the people of the Maritime Provinces of all classes could not be published than is contained in the paragraph just quoted. That there are individual traitors in the pay and interest of American annexationists, endeavouring to subvert British institutions in the Maritime Provinces, is quite possible; but that even an insignificant portion of any class of the people could be induced to

prefer connection with the United States to a union of British America I most emphatically deny. The mischievous influence of such a misconception of the sentiments of British colonists at the present moment cannot be over-rated. The annexationists in the United States who are endeavouring to accomplish the acquisition of British America by political means are stimulated by such statements to persevere in the policy which has already caused the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, while to the same cause may be traced the mad designs of the Fenians upon the British provinces. Can you then, sir, wonder that I should feel indignant at the publication of an unfounded imputation upon the loyalty of my countrymen, especially when it is calculated to encourage the ravages of invasion and waste the blood and treasure both of British America and the parent State?

Feeling assured that you will willingly give assertion to these corrections of statements calculated to produce very erroneous impressions upon an important question, I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

CHARLES TUPPER,
Prime Minister of Nova Scotia.

Alexandra Hotel, Sept. 22.

Note.—An application to the publisher for a copy of Mr. Howe's pamphlet was met by the statement that as yet it was only intended for private circulation.

Howe failed to answer my letter, with the result

that the *Star* came back into line and supported Confederation.

I then issued a pamphlet in reply to Howe's, sending copies to members of both Houses of Parliament and to the Press. Howe continued silent, and the British North America Act met with feeble opposition, receiving the support of members of both political parties. Lord Carnarvon and I had become great friends on the occasion of my first official visit to England in 1858. He was at that time Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, his chief being Sir Bulwer Lytton, and Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the Upper Provinces the most prominent men who met us in conference at Quebec were John A. Macdonald, George Brown, Mowat, Galt and Cartier.

Sir John had an extremely attractive personality and was unequalled as a tactician. Without being an eloquent speaker, he was very effective on the floor of the House. His popularity throughout Ontario was very great. His colleague, Sir George E. Cartier, was a man of unfailing industry and indomitable courage, and was easily the most influential man in the province of Quebec. As Sir John said of him: "He is as bold as a lion," and he exercised a wonderful influence and control over his French-Canadian supporters. He was also a very agreeable personage in every way.

The Hon. George Brown was a writer of great ability, but his oratorical gifts were not very great. As editor of the *Toronto Globe* he wielded a vigorous pen. His newspaper was a great power in Ontario. He was defeated at the first general

election after Confederation, and never obtained a seat until awarded a senatorship by the Mackenzie Government. As a member of the Coalition Government he took a prominent part in shaping the events that led to the Quebec Conference and the union. He afterwards became a violent opponent of Sir John A. Macdonald, against whom he had previously carried on a bitter warfare.

Sir Leonard Tilley was a man of high personal character and a very effective speaker. He became Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick when the Conservative party fell in 1873. Five years later he entered Sir John's Administration, and as Minister of Finance carried into effect the protective policy of the party.

The Hon. Peter Mitchell had many strong traits. He was an active member of the Legislative Council of New Brunswick when Confederation was carried, exercising much influence on that occasion.

The Hon. D'Arcy McGee greatly aided the same cause by the many eloquent speeches he delivered throughout the various provinces. He was easily the greatest orator of his day, and a lovable man, for whom I entertained a very high regard.

In June, 1867, Sir John A. Macdonald communicated with me, asking me to come to Quebec and bring Mr. Archibald to assist in the formation of the first Federal Government. The Hon. George Brown had previously quarrelled with Sir John and left the Coalition Government, his two Liberal colleagues, Howland and Macdougall, remaining. Unfortunately Mr. Cartier was deeply

offended at this juncture because Sir John had just been honoured with a K.C.B., while the lesser honour of C.B. had been bestowed on him, Galt, Tilley and myself. When we met to organise the first Administration, Cartier declared he would not carry the province unless he were given two French-Canadian colleagues.

Galt also had a grievance over the superior Confederation honours conferred on Sir John. He could not be overlooked, as he represented the Protestant element in Quebec, and Mr. McGee likewise had claims as the only representative of the Irish Catholics. This meant five Cabinet Ministers from Quebec. Howland and Macdougall took the ground—and rightly, too—that they could not carry Ontario unless that province, owing to the larger population, secured a larger Cabinet representation than the sister province.

Sir John, with all his resourcefulness, could find no satisfactory solution of the difficulty, and after a deadlock lasting a week decided to abandon the task and ask the Governor-General to send for the Hon. George Brown to form a Government. Realising that a combination of Sir John and Cartier was essential to the organisation of a strong Government, and that otherwise Confederation would be endangered, I went to McGee and said :

" The union of the provinces is going to end in a fiasco unless we give way. We are the only two men who can avert that calamity." I then proposed that he should stand aside in favour of Sir Edward Kenny, of Halifax, as the representative of the Irish Catholics, and that I should likewise surrender my claims to a portfolio.

McGee readily agreed to my proposition. I then called on Sir John, who repeated that he had given up the task, and that he had invited the others to meet him at the Council Chamber the following Monday morning to announce his failure, and that he would request Lord Monck to summon the Hon. George Brown. I then told him that I had a solution, and at once briefly explained it.

"But what are you going to do, Tupper? Will you take a governorship?" asked Sir John.

"I would not take all the governorships rolled into one. I intend to run for a seat in the Dominion Parliament," was my reply.

This interview took place on a Saturday night. Macdougall and Howland never thought for a moment that the Government would be formed when they put in an appearance at the Council Chamber on Monday morning at eleven o'clock. They were holding out for a larger representation for Ontario than they would concede to Quebec. They had their coats on their arms and were about to catch a train to journey to Toronto to attend a public meeting, called for the following evening by the Hon. George Brown, to oppose any Government formed by Sir John Macdonald.

"Tupper has found a solution," said Sir John to the assembly as he glanced at me. He explained it, everybody was satisfied, and in less than fifteen minutes his Cabinet was formed. Cartier got portfolios for Chapais and Langevin, his two French-Canadian supporters, and Galt was taken in, making four members from Quebec and five from Ontario. Kenny and Archibald, both old Liberals, were sworn in as representa-

tives of Nova Scotia, and the Hon. Peter Mitchell, also a Liberal, was one of the new Cabinet Ministers from New Brunswick. I went back to Nova Scotia single-handed, and in the general election in the following September was the only Conservative returned from that province.

The campaign was an extremely bitter one, Howe using his powerful influence to fan the flames of discontent and passion. He made much capital out of my failure to submit the issue to a vote of the people, claiming that they had been dragooned into union, and ascribed a large share of the responsibility to the Imperial Government. These arguments from the man who had, at an earlier age, fought the battle for Constitutional government in Nova Scotia, made a deep impression upon the masses to whom the people of the Upper Provinces were utter strangers.

In a public speech Howe made this threat:

"The sooner it is known the better. The people of Nova Scotia are determined to defeat this idea of erecting a new Dominion in British America. They are determined that not a pound of their capital shall go to paying the debts of Canada, that not an acre of their province shall go under Canadian rule, and that not a man of their militia shall be liable to be marched up to the backwoods of Canada to fight the battles of faction, or to prevent Canada from burning down parliament buildings or pelting governors through the streets."

Howe and myself met in a famous debate at Truro, the event attracting a vast audience. Howe had previously refused to meet me at Halifax.

Howe appealed to passion, distorted the issue, and touched a sore point when he asserted that Nova Scotia would be tax-ridden to support the Upper Provinces.

Obliged to admit that I had not been given a seat in the Dominion Cabinet, but refraining from an explanation of the true cause, I concentrated my remarks on the unsatisfactory record of my opponent concerning Confederation. I reviewed the public career of Howe, quoting numerous speeches of his in its favour, including one made at a public dinner at Halifax in honour of the union delegation from the Upper Provinces.

The following quotation from one of my speeches at this time may be not without interest:

"I have given you the authority of the leading men of this country, of the Colonial Ministry, of the British Ministry, and, in addition, you have the authority of the House of Peers and Commons of Great Britain.

"Let detraction assail that Parliament as it may, but there is not a freeman throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire who can fail to admire and respect that body, which, among the convulsions which have shaken nations from the centre to the circumference, has maintained the proud pre-eminence of England. It does not become a public man, at the time when the Parliament of Great Britain is attracting the attention of the civilised world, when it is the great object of other nations to assimilate their institutions as nearly as possible to those of our Mother Country, to attempt to cast obloquy upon it.

"The statesmen of Great Britain, without

regard to party—whether Liberal or Conservative, Whig or Tory—united in one common acclaim, that the colonies would not only be rendered more prosperous, but that the ties that now bind them to the Empire would be strengthened.

"From the lips of our Royal Sovereign I have heard the warmest approval of union. The province I represented had the great honour and distinction of my receiving Her Majesty's command to wait upon her at Buckingham Palace, and upon that occasion Her Majesty congratulated me upon the success which had attended our efforts, and when I expressed the gratification with which her loyal subjects would learn the deep interest she had evinced in this measure, she replied: 'I take the deepest interest in it, for I believe it will make them great and prosperous.'"

CHAPTER III

THE FIGHT FOR CONFEDERATION (*continued*)

EARLY in 1868 Mr. Howe and a number of other delegates, bearing enormous petitions asking for the release of Nova Scotia from the union, were dispatched to England. The Imperial Government refused the appeal, and the House of Commons, by a vote of 181 to 87, refused to appoint a Royal Commission. On the first day that the Dominion House of Commons met in 1867 I made a speech in reply to the Hon. Joseph Howe on the subject of the Union, and when Howe commenced his repeal agitation Sir Edward Watkin, M.P., asked my permission to reprint the report of that speech in the English *Canadian News*. This, of course, I readily gave, and a copy of the report in pamphlet form was sent to every member of both Houses of Parliament. As the speech thus played an important part in this campaign I have reprinted it in the Appendix to this volume.

Sir John Macdonald asked me to go to London to oppose this move. He said: "Tupper, have you any objection to Galt going too?" "Certainly not," I replied. Galt, however, refused to go, alleging that I was on such bad terms with Howe that the mission was bound to be a failure. I then informed Sir John that I should prefer to go alone.

On reaching London the first man I called on was Howe. He was not in, but I left my card. Howe returned the call, and on greeting me said, "Well, I can't say that I am glad to see you, but we have to make the best of it." I replied that the situation was indeed grave enough, but it was better to have a frank understanding. I said to him:

"I will not insult you by suggesting that you should fail to undertake the mission that brought you here. When you find out, however, that the Government and the Imperial Parliament are overwhelmingly against you, it is important for you to consider the next step."

Howe replied: "I have eight hundred men in each county in Nova Scotia who will take an oath that they will never pay a cent of taxation to the Dominion, and I defy the Government to enforce Confederation."

"You have no power of taxation, Howe," I replied, "and in a few years you will have every sensible man cursing you, as there will be no money for schools, roads or bridges. I will not ask that troops be sent to Nova Scotia, but I shall recommend that if the people refuse to obey the law, that the Federal subsidy be withheld."

I also reminded him that all the judges, bishops and clergy and the best element in the province heartily supported the union.

I then showed him a copy of my letter to Sir John declining the chairmanship of the Intercolonial Railway Board, and told him that I would not accept a portfolio or any office until I had a majority from Nova Scotia at my back.

At the time of which I speak, Archibald, one of the Cabinet Ministers from Nova Scotia, had just been defeated, and his colleague, Kenny, was in the Senate.

"Howe," I continued, "you have a majority at your back, and if you will enter the Cabinet and assist in carrying out the work of Confederation you will control all the provincial patronage, and you will find me as strong a supporter as I have been an opponent."

I saw at once that Howe was completely staggered, and two hours of free and frank discussion followed. I told him that between us we could rally to his support three-quarters of the wealth, education and influence of the province. That very night I wrote to Sir John that I had no doubt Howe would become a member of his Cabinet.

At the House of Commons a few days later John Bright asked for an introduction to me, and then stated that he had accepted Howe's invitation to move a resolution in favour of a Commission of Inquiry. He asked for my side of the story, so next day I visited him at his lodgings. His newspaper, the *Star*, was then supporting Howe's demand for a Royal Commission. I frankly told Bright that he was not a Constitutionalist in the course he proposed to follow, and informed him that the union had been approved by a large majority of both Houses of the Nova Scotia Legislature.

"I don't mean to insinuate that these majorities were obtained by crooked work, but I know that improper means are sometimes used over

here," Bright observed. I then warned him that the disruption of the Confederation meant absorption of the various provinces by the United States.

"Well," he replied, after a pause, "I can't help thinking that it would be a grand thing to see one Government rule from the Equator to the North Pole."

"If those are your views, Mr. Bright," I replied, "I should think you could quite understand why a public man from a small province would prefer to see it a member of a confederation rather than remain isolated, without accusing him of being influenced by corrupt motives."

"You have got me there fairly," was Bright's comment with a laugh.

He then asked me if there was any danger of a revolt in Nova Scotia. I replied that the worst revolt I had expected was to see Howe become a member of Sir John's Cabinet within six months, requesting him to regard the communication as confidential. Four years later, meeting Mr. Bright at dinner in London, he remarked to me: "I was incredulous over your prediction, but I took a note of it, and observed that it was fulfilled within the time. Nobody received the news with greater pleasure than I did."

After my talk with Howe, I called on the Duke of Buckingham, at the Colonial Office, Lord Carnarvon having in the meantime resigned. The duke invited me to Stowe Park for the Easter holidays, and said that it would afford him pleasure to invite any members of Parliament I might care to meet, in order to discuss the impending issue in the House of Commons. I replied that

there was only one gentleman I cared to meet, and that was Mr. Howe. The duke thereupon invited Mr. and Mrs. Howe, and we met at Stowe Park.

The visit gave me an opportunity of saying a good word on behalf of Cartier. I told the duke that Cartier was as strong in Quebec as Sir John was in Ontario, and urged that the French-Canadian leader was entitled to equal consideration at the hands of the Crown. The duke agreed to see the Queen, and later informed me that Her Majesty was quite willing, but that nothing could be done, as the Crown could not create any new members of the Order of the Bath until a vacancy occurred. I then suggested that the difficulty be got over by recommending Cartier for a baronetcy. The duke obtained the Queen's consent, and thus the breach at home was healed.

Mr. Howe became a member of Sir John's Administration six months later, accepting the Presidency of the Council, and running for Hants County, secured nearly as large a majority as he had little more than a year before as an anti-confederate. He was afraid of the effect if I entered the constituency and spoke on his behalf, so I addressed a circular letter to the Conservatives there, giving reasons why they should support Howe, and I had the satisfaction of seeing my political friends go to the polls and make up for the defections of Howe's former supporters.

The session of 1870 proved a stormy one. Sir A. T. Galt, Minister of Finance, had previously withdrawn from the Government and joined the Opposition. He was succeeded by Sir John

Rose, who subsequently resigned, and the portfolio then went to Sir Francis Hincks. Exasperated over the selection of Hincks, Sir Richard Cartwright wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald, threatening to withdraw his support if Hincks were sworn in.

From this episode arose the bitterness of feeling which ever afterwards characterised the relations between the Premier and Sir Richard. Years afterwards, in the heat of a debate, I referred to the cause which prompted Cartwright's defection from the Conservative party. Sir Richard denied the charge, and I retorted that I had seen Cartwright's letter to Sir John.

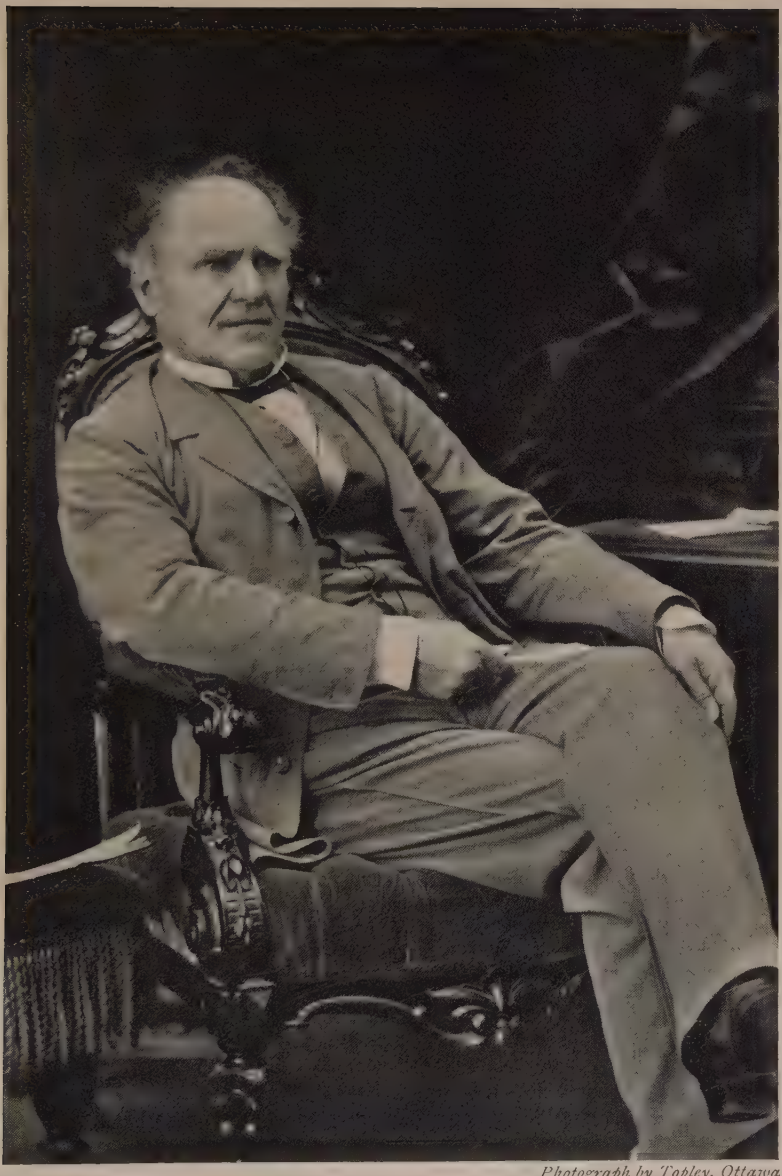
Early in the season of 1870 the Opposition made a most determined onslaught on the Government, whose fate for a while trembled in the balance. Sir John and his colleagues were harshly criticised for the unrest, if not open rebellion, which existed in Manitoba. The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Sir A. T. Galt, Sir Richard Cartwright and the Hon. William Macdougall formed the principal battery on the Opposition benches. To add to the trouble, considerable dissatisfaction arose among the ranks of the Government supporters. There was open talk of revolt. The Hon. Mr. Masson, a strong supporter of Sir John, showed his disaffection and voiced it in a speech, and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell declared that the Government should be turned out if half of what was said about it was true.

I fought hard on behalf of the Government, and gave and received many hard knocks, and the end was that the Government was saved by a good majority.

Sir John came to me immediately afterwards and insisted that I must enter his Government. I replied that a large deputation of Liberal members from Nova Scotia had just urged me to do so. Mr. Howe's health was anything but satisfactory, and he was never heard at his best in the House of Commons. I accepted the Premier's invitation and was sworn in as President of the Council on June 21, 1870.

In the general elections of 1872 Howe and I swept Nova Scotia. We were both elected by acclamation, and I had then the proud satisfaction of knowing that my earlier labours had not been in vain, and that the anti-Confederation agitation was dead for all time. Mr. Howe's health gradually became worse. I knew his ambition was to become Lieutenant-General of his native province, and I discussed the matter with Sir John, who stated that any arrangement would be agreeable to him; so Mr. Howe was nominated for that high honour on my recommendation.

Before leaving Ottawa Mr. Howe gave a farewell champagne luncheon, his parting injunction being: "Boys, I want you to stand by Tupper, as he has stood by me." Poor Howe returned to Nova Scotia and had only been an occupant of Government House three weeks when he passed away.



Photograph by Topley, Ottawa

THE HON. JOSEPH HOWE

CHAPTER IV

CONFEDERATION CAMPAIGN CORRESPONDENCE

THE more intimate story of the Confederation campaign is unfolded in the following series of letters written by me to Sir John A. Macdonald. Incidentally, too, the early negotiations with the Imperial Government on the difficult matter of the Fishery question between Canada and the United States are dealt with. The letters extend over the years 1865-69, and include my report to Canada on the tussle with Howe and his friends in London:

Halifax,
January 4th, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you in answer to my last note. We have called our House to meet the 9th February, so as to learn what you do in Canada. I am satisfied, since the receipt of Mr. Cardwell's despatch, that the more general the terms of a resolution approving the report of the conference the better. Such a resolution will pass much more easily than a Bill, and will be more acceptable to the Imperial Parliament. I think you ought to draft that resolution, and send copies to all the Governments at once, so that they may suggest any modification they may wish. We have had hard work here. A great body of the leading men, compris-

ing the most wealthy merchants in the city, are exerting themselves to the utmost to defeat the scheme. Archibald and McCully have stood by me like trumps, and I hope we will carry the day.

The Governor proposed to publish the despatch from Mr. Cardwell to Lord Monck, and we concurred, as it was calculated to check the opposition rapidly gaining ground. Howe is at the bottom of the opposition, and does not disguise his hostility to the Confederation. I wish Lord Monck would write to Earl Russell to choke him off, as his action may endanger the passage of the measure here. I would not trouble Lord Monck if I could avoid it. I hope you will assist me in pressing Tilley to put it through without going first to the people.—Hoping soon to hear from you, I am as ever, yours faithfully,

C. Tupper.

Hon. J. A. Macdonald.

Halifax,
April 9th, 1865.

My dear Sir,—I intend to-morrow night to move the following resolution, and I am anxious that you should fully understand our position:

"Whereas, under existing circumstances, an immediate union of the British North American provinces has become impracticable;

"And whereas, a Legislative union of the Maritime Provinces is desirable, whether the larger union be accomplished or not;

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this House the negotiations for the union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island should

be renewed in accordance with the resolution passed at the last session of the Legislature."

You are well aware that I was very sanguine when in Canada that the Quebec scheme could be carried here. I knew that it would be excessively easy to excite our people on the question of taxation, but the organ of the Opposition, being conducted by Mr. McCully, secured the support of the two leading journals which influence public opinion, and with the Government and Messrs. Archibald and McCully in favour, and Mr. Howe neutralised as an Imperial officer if he did not assist, I knew no effectual opposition could be raised to our arrangements. A number of the leading merchants here, many of them supporters of the Government, were strongly opposed to confederation with Canada, and they were joined by several of the members in opposition to the Government; but it would not have given us the slightest trouble had not Howe assumed the leadership of the party, allowing his name to be freely used as opposed to the measure. Mr. McCully was then deposed from the editorial charge of the *Morning Chronicle*, and Mr. Howe, putting Annand forward as the ostensible editor, took his place. Both Archibald and McCully have remained as true as steel; but it is doubtful whether they could bring over two votes in the Assembly, and the hands of the Government would have been more than correspondingly weakened by the alliance on this question with their opponents; and although apparently numerically strong, we have been paralysed by the introduction of the assessment for the support of schools to such an extent

as to shake the confidence of their supporters in the prospect of success in case of an appeal to the people.

At this juncture, when an appeal to the people had been adopted as a war cry, Tilley announced his determination to yield to that demand, and followed it up by a dissolution. Had he succeeded, by great sacrifices and exertions we could, I think, have secured a bare majority; but the moment he failed I found all my ingenuity would be required to avert the passage of a hostile resolution. Here, as in New Brunswick, the opponents of Confederation profess to favour a union of the Maritime Provinces, although I am satisfied it will be rejected in N.B. as well as in P.E. Island. As I knew the Opposition would bring this forward as a counter proposal, and that two-thirds of our House must go for it, I thought it better to bring it forward in a subsidiary form. If adopted, it will promote the larger union, and place it on a better footing, and if lost it will remove the question out of the way of Confederation. Any negotiation under it must have a good effect upon N.B., and it will leave us in the best position to agitate the subject. Twelve months will, I believe, find a decided majority in the present Parliament being in favour of Confederation. While any resolution in favour would have been negatived after it was decided against, in N.B. a majority of the members are favourable, and unless I am deceived, a few months will bring the constituencies right, as they will be kept free from committing themselves.—Ever yours,

C. TUPPER.

HON. J. A. MACDONALD.

Halifax,
June 17th, 1866.

My dear Sir,—I have deferred writing to you until we might know the exact result of the elections in New Brunswick, which is, as you are well aware, all that could be desired. When our last session met we hoped that N.B., by taking decisive action on the Confederation question, at once would aid us in carrying it here; but I soon found that they would be too late for us, and learning that our taking the lead would give them great assistance, we, as you are aware, passed our resolution in conformity with Lord Monck's wishes. This was also necessary in order that the delegates might proceed to England immediately after Tilley could convene the Legislature in N.B. and pass the requisite resolution. I hope, therefore, that you will not lose a moment in taking whatever action is necessary to bring Canada into line, and that the delegates from all these provinces will be enabled to proceed by the first of July to England. We must obtain action during the present session of the Imperial Parliament, or all may be lost. Our House expires by law in May next, when a general election must be held, and for reasons which it is not necessary to enter into here, the result would be most disastrous to Confederation, and probably defeat it altogether. I am sure I need not add a word more to convince you of the necessity of prompt and immediate action. What that action may be in your Legislature you are, of course, the best judge. Tilley writes me that he will carry substantially my resolution, and it is very desirable that Canada should do the same as

near as possible; but at all events do whatever is necessary to enable the Imperial Parliament to act this session, and ere the year is out we will have the proud consciousness of having erected a British American Confederation, to enter, as I believe, upon a career of greatness and prosperity which will fulfil our most sanguine expectations.

You will observe that I provided in my resolution that the delegation from each province (counting Canada two) was to have an equal "voice," i.e. vote by provinces, as we did at the Quebec Conference. My object in that was to enable each province to send whatever number of delegates might be thought desirable or necessary to meet local feeling. I think we will be obliged to take *seven;* but I would be glad to learn by telegraph what you think on that point. Be good enough to write me fully, or telegraph at length upon the receipt of this, and oblige.—Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HON. J. A. MACDONALD.

Halifax,
June 19th, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote by overland mail, but as the *China* is here, and this may reach you sooner, I wish to impress upon you the urgent necessity of *immediate* action. I enclose a letter from Archibald, giving you his views and Mr. McCully's, but the necessity is, I conceive, still greater than he represents it, as if the Imperial Act does not pass during the present session, a new House here may obstruct and defeat the whole arrangement ere Parliament meets again. Tilley writes me that they can be ready at once,

and Canada ought not, I think, under the circumstances, to be behind. You see the state of the case; do the best you can. If you cannot be ready for the 4th July, say the 11th from N.Y., and we can go by the 4th and meet in England. The *China* is going, and I must close. I wish you would telegraph to me the first moment you can.—Ever yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HON. J. A. MACDONALD.

Ottawa,
March 14th, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Before leaving for England I think it right to inform you that after mature reflection I have decided that it is my duty to decline the office of chairman to the Intercolonial Railway Commission, which you have kindly offered me, as I fear the acceptance of the position would weaken my influence in rendering the union of the provinces acceptable to the people of Nova Scotia. I attach great importance to their cordial acceptance of the union, and believe that I may be able, if untrammelled by such an office, to contribute something to disabuse the minds of many of the people there of erroneous opinions which are now entertained on that question.—With many thanks for your kind offer, I remain, yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B., ETC.

Westminster Palace Hotel,
Victoria Street, London, S.W.
April 9th, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I duly received your note of the 23rd ult., and the copy of the minute of

Council. Day before yesterday I received your cable telegram respecting the fishing licences, and giving me the awful intelligence of the assassination of poor McGee. It was announced in the morning papers, but I hoped against hope until your telegram came. I cannot tell you how inexpressibly it has shocked me, and the very painful sensation it has created everywhere here. I enclose a notice of his death in the *Telegraph*, which expresses the universal sentiment felt towards his memory in this country.

I found the Government and all our friends here very much gratified by my arrival, as the efforts Howe and Company were making through the Press and members of Parliament occasioned a good deal of anxiety. Until I hear from you to the contrary I will observe your instructions to keep out of the newspapers, although the opinion of the Government and all our friends, as well as my own, is the very reverse. I explained fully to the Colonial Office the views and policy of the Canadian Government, and they meet with their hearty concurrence. There will be no difficulty there. What I fear is an unpleasant discussion in Parliament. Bright has promised to bring the question forward, and I fear statements may be made which will foment agitation in Nova Scotia and encourage our annexationist opponents in the United States; *vide* Goldwin Smith's speech in *Times*, April 11th. I shall use all the means in my power, should a public appeal become necessary—which is the only way of really dispelling the ignorance which exists, even among members of Parliament—to meet this difficulty.

I called and left a card for Mr. Howe (who was not in) immediately after my arrival, and saw Annand and Smith, but made no reference to politics. Last Monday morning Howe came to see me here, and we spent two hours in the most intimate and friendly, I may say unreserved discussion of the whole question. He met me with the observation that he would not say that he was glad to see me here, but that he expected me, as he knew that under the circumstances I must come. He said that if the Government and Parliament refused to do anything, he intended to tell the people of Nova Scotia that he was ready to adopt any course they might decide upon. I told him that I considered it due to my own character as a public man, as well as to the interests of my country, to obtain the approval of Nova Scotia to the union; that I had, after careful consideration, decided that it could be done despite all opposition, and had refused the chairmanship of the Railway Commission in order to leave myself untrammelled, and strengthen my hands for the work, but that I was tired of fighting, and knew the struggle would be most injurious to all concerned. I told him I expected him to do all in his power to obtain repeal, both with the Government and Parliament; but that in case he failed he must see that persisting in a course of antagonism to the Dominion and Imperial Governments would only end in the ruin of himself and his party, and be the cause of immense mischief to the country. I told him if, on the other hand, he went back to Nova Scotia and told them that before entering upon any further antagonism they had better give

the union a fair trial, he would find the Government and Parliament of the Dominion not only ready to make any practical concession to the interests of Nova Scotia, but to give the public sentiment of the people, as expressed at the election, the fullest weight; that a seat in the Government and the position declined by myself would afford the means of doing justice to the claims of the Nova Scotia party; and that I would unite my fortunes with theirs and give them the most cordial support.

He appeared deeply impressed by my statements, and said a great many civil things, but expressed his fears that if he took that course his party would abandon him. I told him that between us we could rally to his support three-fourths of the wealth, education and influence of the country, and that I could assure him that he would thus entitle himself to the most favourable consideration of the Crown. The duke has entered warmly into my views, and has invited Howe and myself to visit him at Stowe Park next Monday.

I met Annand at a party at Mr. Miller's last night. Tell Tilley that Mr. Wiggins, one of the wealthiest men in New Brunswick, who a year ago was very hostile to the union, told me that he refused to sign an application to admit Mr. Annand to the Reform Club because he is totally opposed to their mission and thinks it very injurious to our interests. Howe told me that he had a cable telegram from St. John that Cudlip had been elected as an avowed repealer by a show of hands. What are the facts? I may mention I have heard of Howe's speaking of me in a quarter

where he could not have expected me to hear it again in terms very highly complimentary.

I have done all I could respecting the railway matter and the fishing licences. The duke referred me to Mr. Elliot for their discussion, and he assures me that he is entirely satisfied and goes with me fully as to the sufficiency of the amount provided by Parliament in Canada for the railway, and also agrees as to the advisability of raising the licences to $2 per ton, and will represent both matters in this light strongly to the duke. I will have no difficulty with the duke, who treats me with the greatest unreserve in all questions and is very pliable; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the one case, and Lord Stanley in the other, who have to be brought to concur in the policy on both questions, had previously agreed upon them adversely to our wishes, and it is impossible to do anything that requires accord in two departments during the holidays. The mission was too long delayed. I ought to have been here a month earlier.

Mr. Cyrus Field called to see me, and after a conversation upon the Reciprocity Treaty, said it would be of immense value if I would send him a note which he could enclose to Seward and Morgan, which, to my surprise, I found in the morning papers. It will, however, do no harm. I send you the letter and leader of the *Star* upon it.

I think I have ascertained Mr. Galt's difficulty in coming with me. General Doyle tells me that Howe and his friends confidently relied upon Galt effecting with them the overthrow of your

Government, and I assume Mr. Galt was too deeply committed to present himself in London with me to counteract Mr. Howe's efforts.

I have sent the duke the report of your speech touching the United States matters to show him the friendly disposition towards that country which animates the Canadian Government. It is opportune, and will do much good. I need not tell you the more than anxiety which pervades all circles here to avoid difficulty with the States. I do not think the Government have any intention of going out of office at present. General Williams tells me that Lord Mayo assured him he had not the slightest intention of going to Canada.

I forgot to mention that Mr. Watkins corroborates exactly my account of what took place between us, and is prepared to deal fully with that point in Parliament if it is brought up there. I must also tell you that Howe suggested, although he said he could not propose it, that a commission of three English gentlemen should be appointed to report upon Confederation for the information of Parliament, etc. This could, I think, only be done without compromising the Dominion by being suggested, or, rather, challenged by the Canadian Government in answer to the attacks on it. The effect in case of a struggle, i.e. if nothing can be done with Howe, would be to gain time and let us in N.S. down easily. I told Howe that, of course, I could not suggest it, and said it was, besides, open to the great objection that it would keep up agitation, and prevent him and his friends availing themselves of the present favourable opportunity of acquiring a position and influence to

serve the province. Write me fully by return post and give me suggestions for every alternative.—Yours faithfully, C. TUPPER.

SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

4 *o'clock, Saturday, April* 11*th.*—Mr. Elliot, after an interview with Lord Stanley, thinks the Foreign Office will agree to do away with those warnings, but is very much opposed to raise the licence beyond one dollar. I will exhaust every means with the duke on Monday.

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to the duke *re* Fisheries this date—and of the 10th, on the Intercolonial Railway.

Westminster Palace Hotel.
April 9th, 1868.

MY LORD DUKE,—I am requested, by a cable telegram received yesterday from Sir John A. Macdonald, to press upon your Grace the advisability of agreeing to the proposal of the Canadian Government to raise the licences for fishing in Canadian waters to two dollars per ton. I may be permitted to remind your Grace that out of deference to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government a licence of fifty cents a ton was adopted two years ago, with the expectation that a new Reciprocity Treaty would be made between the United States and British America during that year, but on the distinct understanding that the licences should be for one year only. Under that arrangement 365 American vessels, with a tonnage of 19,355 tons, took, during 1866, licences at that rate in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Canada, now

comprised within the Dominion of Canada. Last year the licence was raised in Nova Scotia to one dollar per ton, and 269 vessels, comprising 13,929 tons, paid in that province one dollar per ton.

The duty imposed upon our fish since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty is on:

Mackerel	$2 per bl.
Herring (pickled or salted) .	$1 per bl.
Salmon	$3 per bl.
All other fish pickled in barrels	½c. per lb.

Your Grace will thus at once perceive that independently of the bounties enjoyed by American fishermen, it is impossible for our fishermen to compete with them upon those terms, and that while the United States refuses to negotiate a new Reciprocity Treaty, they could not complain if their fishermen were, by their own act, excluded entirely from Canadian waters, and they cannot, with any show of reason, object to the payment of two dollars per ton.

Instead of this measure being productive of any difficulty, it will, I believe, lead to the adjustment of commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States upon fair and mutually advantageous terms. The people of Nova Scotia, as your Grace is well aware, were very hostile to the adoption of a system of licences at all, and they will feel deeply grieved if the Dominion Government fail to obtain this concession of their interests. I hope, therefore, with a view to the settlement of commercial relations on a permanent and satisfactory basis betwen the United States and Canada, and for the purpose of conciliating the

people of Nova Scotia who are so deeply interested in this question, as also upon the ground of substantial justice, Her Majesty's Government will not hesitate to sanction this proposal.—I have the honour to remain, your Grace's most obedient servant,

CHARLES TUPPER.

To HIS GRACE
THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

Westminster Palace Hotel,
April 18th, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Since I wrote you on the 9th instant I have spent three days at Stowe, when I had an opportunity of discussing matters fully with the duke. I think I satisfied him on the railway question, and he told me that as soon as he could communicate with the Chancellor he hoped to be able to send a message to you which I think will meet the case fully, viz. "that the Imperial Government are satisfied with the provision made by Canada if any of the surveyed routes are adopted." I think I also satisfied his Grace that assent ought to be immediately given to raising the fishing licences to two dollars, and doing away with the present arrangement as to notices; but this morning Mr. Elliot sent for me to tell me from the duke that Lord Stanley insists upon the licences not being more than a dollar, and making no alteration as to the notices. I stated so strongly the objections to this course that Mr. Elliot said that he would write to the duke, urging him to take no action until he had seen the Foreign Secretary, and proposing that I should see Lord Stanley with the duke. Mr. Elliot

is with us in the strongest manner, and there is no difficulty with the Colonial Minister; but Lord Stanley's policy is evidently one of abject dread of the United States and to give them anything *British American* that they ask. I have presented in the strongest terms the fact that the licensing was only assented to by the colonies for a single year, and that the plan proposed is practically to abandon the fisheries altogether, and keep up the existing restrictions on trade and promote continued difficulty with the United States; that the policy we propose would lead to an early renewal of reciprocity, and settle the whole question permanently. I have also urged that Lord Stanley's course will arm the malcontents in Nova Scotia with the argument that in annexation alone can that province look for protection to her most important interests.

After a very pleasant visit at Stowe and the most friendly intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. Howe for three days, he and I had a long and confidential conversation the night before he left. He expressed again his fears that if he took the course I suggested he would be abandoned by the people and defeated, but I have pledged him, in case he takes the patriotic course, my most loyal support, and I think satisfied his scruples on that point. He suggested that it would materially aid him in reconciling the Nova Scotia party if the Government here would throw upon your Administration the duty of dealing with the question, and I undertook to aid in that matter. If there is any faith in men I think I may consider the matter, if judiciously managed

by you, *settled*. I have assured him of a seat in the Cabinet, and at the Intercolonial Railway Board for Nova Scotia members, and the fullest and most favourable consideration, financially and otherwise, for the province from your Government.

The matter was more serious than we supposed. The duke told me that five of his colleagues, until they heard my explanations, were satisfied that N.S. had strong grounds of complaint, and the effect of keeping up the impression *here* and in the U.S., that the union is not to be permanent, has a most injurious effect. After talking the matter over with the duke after Howe had left, he requested me to give him my suggestions as to a despatch in answer to Howe and Co., and I sat down and hurriedly wrote the paper of which you have here a copy. The duke said it entirely agreed with his own views. I hope the course I have taken will be approved. The duke says that your Government ought to have someone here authorised to confer with him during his negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Co., and fully acquainted with the opinions of the Canadian Cabinet.—Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, yours faithfully, C. TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD.

P.S.—Do not fail to have the trade returns of N.S. for the qr. ending Oct. 1st prepared and published to complete the year 1867. They will be of great service in many ways.—C. T.

The duke says I must not leave here until the discussion is over in Parliament.

Memorandum given to the Colonial Minister at Stowe, April 15th, 1868, as suggestions of basis of despatch to Canada:

"Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to receive the address of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, which has been laid at the foot of the throne, praying for a repeal of the British North America Act as far as it affects that province.

"Her Majesty's Government have learned with deep regret the dissatisfaction felt by the loyal people of Nova Scotia respecting a measure passed by the Imperial Parliament upon the application of large majorities of both branches of the Legislatures of all the provinces, included within its operation, and which it was confidently believed would materially strengthen and largely promote the best interests of all those important dependencies of the Crown.

"After the most careful consideration of the address of the Assembly and the fullest personal communication with the delegates appointed by the local Government, and having taken the opinion of the law officers of the Crown upon the question, it is obvious that the Union Act was passed in a perfectly legal and constitutional manner, and that under existing circumstances it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to advise any interference here with its operation.

"It is quite apparent, however, that the great benefits which have been, and still are, expected to flow from the consolidation of those provinces under one Government, can only be attained by

the hearty co-operation of the different provinces of which Canada is composed, and Her Majesty's Government desire you to impress upon your Administration the duty of carefully considering every cause of dissatisfaction on the part of the people of Nova Scotia, and they confidently trust that the Parliament of Canada will be enabled to meet the claims of Nova Scotia in such a spirit of conciliation as will remove all possible grounds of complaint.

"Her Majesty's Government still entertain the conviction that the union of the British North American provinces will materially aid in their defence, enhance their credit, and promote their commercial prosperity, and they sanguinely hope that the loyal and patriotic spirit of the people in every section of the Dominion of Canada will induce them to combine in harmoniously seeking the advancement of their common country."

Westminster Palace Hotel,

April 25th, 1868.

My dear Sir John,—On the 9th of April I wrote a letter, a copy of which is enclosed, to the Colonial Minister on the Fishery question, and subsequently had a lengthened interview with Mr. Elliot on the subject, whom I convinced thoroughly of the propriety of adopting our policy, and also had a long discussion of the question with the duke at Stowe, with a like result. Mr. Elliot, however, on Saturday night last, sent for me to communicate from the duke that Lord Stanley would not consent to any alteration in

the system of licences, or that the charge should be increased beyond one dollar per ton.

I then wrote the letter of the 20th, to which I received the following reply:

"*April 21st*, 1868.

"My dear Sir,—I had already communicated with Lord Stanley before receiving yours, and have arranged that you will, with me, see him at 12.30 to-morrow, so if you will call her at 12.15 we can go to the F.O. together.—Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) "Buckingham and Chandos."

We went to the Foreign Office and had a discussion of the question with Lord Stanley. The duke gave me every assistance (having previously advised me of the best line to take) and sustained my views very warmly. I urged that the policy proposed by Lord Stanley would not only be a breach of faith on the part of the Imperial Government, but virtually proclaim to the United States that the protection of the fisheries was abandoned by Great Britain, destroy the prospect of obtaining a treaty, and lead the people of Nova Scotia to believe that annexation to the United States was the only means by which they could enjoy the advantages which their fisheries afforded. I assured Lord Stanley of the determination of the Government of Canada to preserve the most friendly relations with the States, and to avoid all possible cause of collision, but called his attention to the fact that all our concessions had only led to the recent order of the Treasury respecting the repacking of fish in bond, etc. Lord Stanley

consented to alter the system of notices to meet our views, but said that he would further consider the proposal as to the two dollars. The duke then got me to go to the Colonial Office and prepare a strong but condensed letter for him to send to Lord Stanley. I called to-day to learn what had been done. The duke has gone to Osborne to tell the Queen the news just (received) from Australia of the attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh. Mr. Elliot tells me that the question is not yet decided, and that my letters to the duke have been sent to Lord Stanley.

I had a two hours' visit yesterday from Mr. Smith, M.P.P., the ablest lawyer on the Anti side in the N.S. House. He is coming to see me again. I think he will take a patriotic view. I have not seen Howe since his return. He has been housed with sore eyes, and I do not like his colleagues to have any suspicion that we are too intimate. I have every reason to think that all will be right.

I am very glad you abandoned the Currency Bill; do anything you can to strengthen my hands. I had a long and most satisfactory interview with Mr. Cardwell, who will give his best aid in every way. He thinks he will get Bright to see me which, he says, will do much good. Mr. Chesson, the editor of the *Star*, wrote me for an interview, and I spent two hours with him and his colleagues yesterday. He told me in confidence that he had engaged to write an article on Confederation for the *Examiner*, and I have given him the points. You and all your colleagues, as also Lord Monck, will be gratified to know that the Queen has conferred a baronetcy upon Mr. Cartier and a C.B.

upon Mr. Langevin. Mr. Cartier's Bill gives much satisfaction here. I had the melancholy pleasure of receiving a letter from poor McGee, written a few hours before his untimely end. He asked me to sell a novel, "Cyrus O'Neill," to Hurst and Blackett. If Mrs. McGee would send me the MSS. I think I could do something. I hope Parliament will provide *handsomely* for his family.—Ever yours,

C. Tupper.

Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.

Copy of letter to the Colonial Minister on the Fishery question:

Westminster Palace Hotel,
April 20th, 1868.

My Lord Duke,—I learned through Mr. Elliot on Saturday evening last that the Minister of Foreign Affairs is unwilling to concur in any change in the system of notices required by the regulations of 1867 to trespassers in British American waters, or to sanction the imposition of a licence fee upon American fishermen exceeding one dollar a ton. The interests involved are of such magnitude, and the consequences likely to result from such a decision are, in my judgment, so serious as to warrant me in again trespassing upon your Grace's attention.

With upwards of 20,000 of the population of the Dominion of Canada engaged in the prosecution of the fisheries, and an annual take of fish to the value of nearly a million of pounds sterling, the intrinsic worth of these fisheries is entitled to careful consideration, and as a nursery for hardy

British seamen warrants the protection of a great country mainly dependent upon its naval supremacy for the high position which it holds.

The right of Great Britain to the exclusive possession of the inshore fisheries is now undisputed.

The Colonial Minister in 1852 said, in a despatch, "Her Majesty's Ministers are desirous to remove all grounds of complaint on the part of the colonies in consequence of the encroachments of the fishing vessels of the United States upon those waters from which they are excluded by the terms of the Convention of 1818, and they therefore intend to dispatch a small naval force of steamers or other vessels to enforce the observance of that Convention." This vindication of the rights of the Crown and protection of the interests of Her Majesty's subjects in British America was speedily followed by the successful negotiation of a Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and the British North American provinces, which not only set at rest all differences between them, but was also productive of great mutual commercial advantage.

In 1866 the Government of the United States, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of the Imperial Government and the colonies, abrogated the treaty and imposed enormous duties upon the products of the colonies which had, under the treaty, been admitted free.

Her Majesty's Government under (as I humbly conceive) the mistaken impression that large concessions would promote the renewal of the treaty, urged upon the Governments of the provinces the

policy of not excluding American fishermen from the privileges which their own Government had voluntarily surrendered. The Government of Canada was induced to consent to license American fishermen, but in the following guarded terms, as will be seen by reference to the Minute of Council, dated Montreal, March 23rd, 1866: "The system of licence will continue for the current year; but it is proposed to notify the fishermen in all cases that it will not be renewed for the future, being only adopted from a desire to avoid exposing them to unexpected loss, their arrangements having been made, before the expiry of the treaty, for this season's fishing."

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies adopted the policy thus expressed in the following terms, contained in a despatch to Lord Monck, dated April 21st, 1866: "I recognise in the Minute, with much pleasure, the moderation and forbearance shown by the Canadian Government. The suggestion that American fishermen should be allowed to fish *during the current year* in all provincial waters upon payment of a moderate licence fee, meets with the full approval of Her Majesty's Government."

The Government of Nova Scotia was very averse to the adoption of this policy, but concurred upon receiving the following assurance from the Colonial Minister, contained in a despatch to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, dated May 26th, 1866: "Her Majesty's Government trusts that, on further consideration, and when the Executive Council are informed that there are *reasonable grounds* for hoping that before next season per-

manent arrangements may be made with the Government of the United States, they will feel themselves at liberty to withdraw their objections to a *temporary arrangement* for the year which has received the cordial approval of Her Majesty's Government."

The British Minister at Washington was requested by a Minute of the Canadian Council, dated June 18th, 1866, to communicate to the Government of the United States "that the tonnage duty of fifty cents per ton now imposed has been adopted for *this year only*, and is not by any means to be regarded by Canada as being equivalent for the right of fishing in her waters."

A year ago, when the Governments of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were in a state of transition owing to the passage of the Act, which came into operation July 1st, uniting those provinces, the licence system was continued as before in Canada and New Brunswick, while in Nova Scotia the licence fee was raised to one dollar per ton. By reference to my letter of the 9th instant your Grace will see that the number of licences issued fell from 365 in 1866 to 269 in 1867, representing a tonnage of 19,355 tons in the former year and 13,929 tons in the latter. I may also remark that although Canada employed a cruiser for the purpose of protecting the fisheries, under the restrictions imposed by the Imperial Government she was practically useless, and not a single licence was taken, except in Nova Scotia, during 1867. It must be obvious, therefore, that the policy of the Foreign Minister, if adopted, will be considered by the Government and fishermen of

the United States as a determination on the part of Her Majesty's Government to surrender the fishing grounds of British America to the undisturbed enjoyment of foreigners without any compensation. A fatal blow will thus be given to a great and productive source of British American industry, upon which tens of thousands of Her Majesty's loyal subjects are dependent for their means of living, while at the same time the most extended nursery for hardy seamen will be deliberately abandoned to a foreign power.

But this is not all. I should fail in my duty to the Crown as also to the Dominion of Canada if I did not express to your Grace the deep apprehension with which, in the present disturbed state of the public mind in Nova Scotia, I dread the result of a decision which practically tells the great body of the people who are so deeply interested in this question that the principal means of promoting the renewal of a Reciprocity Treaty having been abandoned they can never hope, as British subjects, to compete upon fair terms upon fishing grounds which are admitted to belong exclusively to Great Britain.

In the hope that this question, not only vitally affecting the interests of Canada, but also involving considerations of the highest importance to the Empire, may receive further attention from Her Majesty's Government, I remain, your Grace's most obedient servant,

CHARLES TUPPER.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

Westminster Palace Hotel,
May 26th, 1868.

My dear Sir John,—Although I have not had the pleasure of receiving a reply to my last letter, I will embrace this mail to answer yours of the 30th ultimo. I was surprised to learn from it that the assurance the duke had given me respecting the railway matter had not been carried out. I lost no time in seeing his Grace, and have followed it up since without intermission; but so great have been the difficulties of the Ministry that, although the duke has done all in his power to meet our wishes, it was not until yesterday that he could obtain the assent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to his proposal to regard the existing legislation sufficient if the North Shore route was adopted. This, I presume, is all you require, and will fully meet the case, yet I felt it my duty to the whole Government to try (but in vain) to get a more general approval. The delay in getting anything brought to a point by the Cabinet is so great that the answer to Howe, etc., which was really ready a month ago, is, the duke assures me, to be sent to-day, and will go to Lord Monck by this mail. It is of the tenor agreed upon before, and substantially as I communicated to you.

Howe drove me home in his cab from the Lyceum last Thursday evening, and invited me to breakfast with Mrs. Howe and himself the next morning, when we had two hours' conversation in her presence and went fully into the whole matter. She goes with me strongly, and I have no doubt that his mind is quite made up. I put it to him strongly

that with the course you had taken I would now be able to take the platform and carry the country against any opposition he could bring, but preferred, as the province had pronounced in his favour, to stand aside myself and let them have the legitimate fruit of their popular triumph, and thus bring all into complete harmony at once. I am satisfied that he is fully convinced that the interests of his country, his party, and himself all require him to take hold with us, but both he and I feel that we must handle the subject with great delicacy. My inability to enter upon the *public* discussion of this question has entailed enormous labour in seeing members of the Lords and Commons, but probably nothing could have conduced more to the interests of the Dominion. I have had long interviews during the past week with Walter, late M.P., and principal proprietor of the *Times*, Lord Houghton, Lord Campbell, Mr. Karslake, M.P., Sir Robert Anstruther, M.P., and several others, all of whom sought the interviews with me and seemed most anxious to obtain full information on our matters. I find a rapidly increasing interest springing up here in relation to our affairs, and every leading man I meet seems desirous of bringing other public men into contact with me. Mr. Bright has, as you are aware, postponed his notice of the Nova Scotia petition to the 16th. Lord Campbell has withdrawn his in the Lords at present, and after our interview yesterday I doubt if he will renew it. Be assured I lose no opportunity of influencing the mind of Parliament and of the Press and public in the right direction, and am vain enough to hope that

a great deal is being accomplished, despite the extreme and general ignorance which prevails here regarding everything on the other side of the Atlantic.

The duke told me, some time ago, that he was about to telegraph to Lord Monck to keep Parliament until he received a despatch on the Hudson's Bay question; but I advised him to send the substance of the despatch by telegraph, so that you could judge whether it was desirable to keep the House on that account, which he did. Although the duke has gone fully into that question with me, I, in the absence of any instructions, have simply confined myself to the expression of my personal opinion that it was on every account desirable that Canada should, without delay, obtain the control of that country.

Having fully succeeded in all the objects of my mission, I propose to return home immediately after the discussion of the Nova Scotia question in Parliament, unless the Government desire my services here in conjunction with any members of the Cabinet who may come over. Be good enough in that case to let me know your wishes by telegraph. I wrote to you to send me a further letter of credit, and hope that the Cabinet will not forget in that relation that since I resigned office on the first day of July last I have been exclusively engaged with public business, and must continue, for several months at least, to devote myself to the interests of the Dominion in Nova Scotia.

Before receiving your letter I wrote to Mr. Archibald that I had written to you to say

that any appointment to the Senate pending the negotiations with Mr. Howe would be an act of insanity, and I requested him to show that letter to Mr. McCully. I have no hesitation in saying that such an act on the part of the Dominion Government would close the door in the face of the anti-Unionists and leave us no course but to fight it out. I want nothing for myself, nothing for my friends, but I cannot understand how anybody could be so indifferent to the public weal as the proposal you mentioned indicated. Neither Archibald nor McCully in their letters hinted such a thing, but of thirty-two votes which carried union the Liberal party gave me four! and six Liberals were nominated by Archibald and McCully for the Senate. You know how fully I value the good faith in which they co-operated with me, and how anxious I have been to consider and conserve their interests, but this would never do. The action of the majority of the Commons on the Governor-General's salary has done much mischief here in every way. The Government were about appointing a member of the Cabinet, but will now have to fall back upon some third-rate man.

There will be no change now until a new appointment.—Ever yours faithfully,

C. Tupper.

The Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, K.C.B., etc.

Westminster Palace Hotel,
June 20th, 1868.

My dear Sir John,—Your letters of May 25th and May 30th were duly received. The papers

which go out by this mail will give you a full account of the debate on Bright's motion, and the result, 183 against to 87 for, a majority of 96 against any inquiry. The prima facie case they made out was so strong and the inquiry seemed so reasonable and members of Parliament are so stupid that it was thought necessary at least to republish my speech in the Dominion Parliament in the *Canadian News*, and have a copy sent to each member of the House of Commons, which was done just before the debate came off. Had not this step been taken the division would have been very different, as I have been kept muzzled while the other side have been in full cry. We, i.e. the Nova Scotia delegates, went to the House of Lords last night to hear the debate on Lord Stratheden's motion, the same as Bright's, but he postponed it because there was other business until nearly 7 o'clock, and nobody would have remained to the discussion. We all intend to return by the next steamer to Halifax, which sails a fortnight hence.

I have seen the duke and advised him of the views of the Government, as stated by Sir G. E. Cartier and yourself, touching the salary of the Governor-General, and I have little doubt but that the Royal Assent will be withheld. It has happened at an unfortunate time as they must make the appointment immediately, and the position has been so much lowered they will have difficulty to get a suitable person to fill the office.

Write to me next at Halifax, and let me know if you wish me to come at once to Ottawa. I propose to call a public meeting on my arrival at Halifax, and tell them that I hope the Anti party, having

failed to induce the Imperial authorities to interfere, will now give their best aid to make the union advantageous to N.S.; that if they take that course I am satisfied that the Government will be prepared to give the fullest consideration to the party to whom the people of Nova Scotia have given their confidence, and that I am not only willing to stand aside, but prepared to give Mr. Howe and his friends a loyal support in that position. But that if Mr. H. and his friends do not adopt that course and persevere in maintaining antagonism to the Constitution, I will go through the province and discuss fully before the public the question of union with anyone who will enter the lists. I have satisfied myself, after the most careful consideration, that if Howe and Co. do not accept the situation I can in this way induce the country to pronounce in favour of union. I think you ought to write a letter, with assent of your colleagues, to Mr. Howe, which would reach him on his arrival at Halifax, expressing the desire in the interests of the whole Dominion, that Nova Scotia should be satisfied that the wishes and interests of her people should be fully considered in the administration of public affairs, and that now that the Imperial authorities have decided that the union must be preserved, you hope he will be prepared to give you his aid, and that you had kept open the seats in Government, Senate and Railway Board with the view of giving the most effectual assurances to the people of N.S. that you looked to them to fill positions of the highest honour and greatest influence. This is, of course, only a very rough outline, which no one understands so well as

yourself how to fill up. I am *sure* he will accept, but if he does not, and sends our letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, I am prepared to accept the responsibility of advising it, and am confident that it must do great good *everywhere*.

Hoping soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, I remain,—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

SIR J. A. MACDONALD.

I duly made the voyage across the Atlantic and went through to Ottawa. Sir J. A. Macdonald, Sir G. E. Cartier, and Mr. J. S. Macdonald, M.P., returned with me to Halifax, where we met Howe and discussed matters fully with him, the upshot of which was that he agreed to join the Government as President of the Council. He put up for election in Hants County, and the following letters deal with his contest:—

Halifax,
February 16th, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—You will naturally be anxious to hear how your President is getting on in Hants. I have had no communication with him directly, but his friend, Northrop, asked me to write to several of the leading Unionists of Hants who are understood to be opposed, and I sent them a note, of which the enclosed is a copy. The *Unionist* having come out in a strong leader against Howe, I met it in the *Colonist* as effectively as I could. You will observe I have a very difficult game to play. I must convince our friends that we have not been badly treated by you, that we were anxious to have the conciliatory policy

adopted, and that the interests of the country demanded that Howe should enter the Government, and that we should support him. The first pitched battle came off on Saturday last at Windsor, and Howe must now be convinced, if he doubted it before, that he would not have the ghost of a chance without the support of the great body of the Unionists. I have no doubt that he will be successful, but I confess that I overrated his influence with his own party. His boast at the meeting, that he could get any amount of money from Ottawa, was most impolitic, and his equal claim to the entire patronage of the province was equally injudicious. Let him do or say what he will, however, you may depend upon my untiring exertions in his behalf, and despite the croakings of the *Unionist* faction of office seekers, which I have already unravelled, I am satisfied that I can secure the bulk of the Unionists of Hants, and in that case he is safe. Should he be beaten, I am quite willing to resign my seat for Cumberland, and either he or I could carry it to-morrow without a contest. I strongly advised Mr. Kenny to get Mr. Howe to consent to an invitation being sent to the local Government to send Vail and Jones with him to Portland. They wished to go, and I know Vail could have been easily secured. It would have effectually broken up the Anti party. We must, however, deal with matters as they are without crying over spilt milk. I wish you to let me know confidentially as near as you can when the House will be called, that I may make my arrangements accordingly.

What progress are your delegates making in

England with the Hudson's Bay question? With best wishes.—Ever yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B., ETC.

Copy of letter to Unionist leader in Hants County.

Halifax,
February 12th, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,—Knowing you to be a warm supporter of the Union cause, I take the liberty of writing to you on the subject of the present election in your county. When I was offered the office of Intercolonial Railway Commissioner I felt it my duty to decline, and strongly advised the Government to use every means in their power to conciliate the anti-Union party, who had, unfortunately, obtained the confidence of the country. That policy was adopted and has been steadily pursued until it has resulted in large concessions to this province, and as I sincerely hope, the complete destruction of an agitation most injurious to the country. If the Union cause is now triumphant years of valuable time will have been saved by the course Mr. Howe has taken since his return from England, and we will enter upon a career of prosperity which will, in my opinion, soon convince the most sceptical that union is most beneficial to us all. Mr. Howe was, I think, in honour bound to enter the Cabinet and place his seat in the hands of his constituents when he assumed the responsibility of advising his party to accept the terms offered. I sincerely hope that under these circumstances the Union

party will forget the past and cordially unite in his support for the sake of our common country, whose best interests would be seriously imperilled by the election of a repealer.

Let us then, regardless of all personal considerations, still preserve the patriotic attitude we have hitherto maintained, and we will enjoy the proud satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of our principles and the prosperity of our country.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

BENJAMIN SMITH, ESQ.

Mr. Howe was duly elected by a good majority.

CHAPTER V

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE NORTH-WEST

I WAS, by force of circumstance, brought closely into contact with the North-West at the time of Louis Riel's rebellion, and was driven to make a visit to Fort Garry after Riel had forbidden any Canadian to enter the North-West Territory on pain of death.

My only daughter, Emma, married Captain D. R. Cameron (now Major-General, C.M.G.), of the Royal Artillery, in July, 1869, and when the Hon. William Macdougall, M.P., was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, Captain Cameron was seconded by the Imperial Government as a member of Mr. Macdougall's Council. Captain and Mrs. Cameron, therefore, accompanied Mr. Macdougall and the other members of the Council and party to Pembina, preparatory to taking over the government, when the North-West Territories were handed over to Canada on December 1, 1869, the date arranged.

Before Mr. Macdougall and his party reached Pembina, Louis Riel had placed himself at the head of the disaffected French half-breeds, seized Fort Garry, where Mr. McTavish, the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, was dying of consumption, and organised a Government.

The Government at Ottawa appointed the

Grand Vicar Thibeault, a resident of Fort Garry, Colonel de Salaberry, and Donald A. Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona), the Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company at Montreal, Commissioners to deal with the insurrection as best they could. At that time there were no means of reaching Fort Garry except via St. Paul, and not a man or a musket could be sent through the United States. Mr. Macdougall's instructions were to go to Fort Garry as a private citizen, until notified that the transfer of the territory to Canada had taken place, when he was to assume office as Lieutenant-Governor.

When, however, Macdougall reached the Hudson's Bay post, two miles north of the United States boundary at Pembina, he was met by a force of twenty-five armed half-breeds, with an order from Riel, forbidding him to remain in the territory on pain of death.

He and his party returned to Pembina, with the exception of Captain Cameron, who proceeded on the way to Fort Garry. Hearing that there was a large armed force on the road, he left Mrs. Cameron and her maid at Scratching River and drove on with his man-servant. At St. Norbert, nine miles south of Fort Garry, he met some three hundred half-breeds under arms, who took him prisoner and sent him back to Pembina, his wife rejoining him on the way. Their horses, wagon, and baggage were all seized by Riel's forces. Pembina, then, was mostly a log and mud village, and the only house the Camerons could obtain was a log hut, three-quarters of a mile away from any other house. Mrs. Le May, their nearest neighbour, told my daughter that a few months

previous a party of Cree Indians came to their house in the afternoon and asked for bread. They returned at sundown, and proved their gratitude by saying, "You very good. These fellows will not trouble you any more," when they opened a shawl and showed her the scalps of every man, woman and child of an encampment of Sioux Indians on the Canadian border, which they had just wiped out.

The feeling against the Canadians in Pembina was very strong, owing to the fact becoming known that Colonel Dennis, acting for Mr. Macdougall, was endeavouring to raise the Indians against Riel, and nothing was so dreaded as an Indian rising. Soon after Captain and Mrs. Cameron had taken up their quarters the maid became alarmed, and went to Fort Garry. The man-servant had been sent there to endeavour to recover their baggage. Mr. Macdougall sent for Captain Cameron, and thus my daughter was left alone. In stalked a strapping Indian, all war-paint and feathers. She thought the best thing she could do was to feed him. She cooked everything in the house—potatoes, meat and bread. When all was consumed—and these Indians will eat at a meal enough to last for three weeks—he had grown to a very large size. As he could not speak a word of English or French, he evinced his gratitude by patting his protuberant stomach with a guttural "Ha! ha! ha!" and left.

My poor wife was much alarmed when she learned the position of our only daughter. She told me I must go and bring her home. I left Halifax immediately for Ottawa (December 3rd,

in the *City of Antwerp*, via New York), where I met D. A. Smith, who was just preparing to leave for Fort Garry. The Vicar Thibeault and Col. de Salaberry had preceded him some ten days previously. In saying good-bye to Sir J. A. Macdonald at Ottawa, he said to me: "I hope you will be able to get into Fort Garry, as no letter can now reach us from there, and we are absolutely ignorant of what is taking place."

Mr. Smith, Mr. Hardisty, his wife's brother, and I left Ottawa on December 13th. The temperature was 30 degrees below zero. We reached Chicago, via Toronto, on the 14th, at 10 o'clock p.m., and St. Paul at 9 p.m.; on the 16th we reached St. Cloud, and the terminus of the railway at 1 p.m. on the 17th. A long stage drive to Fort Abercrombie (the end of the stage line) ended at 6 p.m. on the 19th. Thence we took a sled covered with canvas and drawn by a pair of horses, under the guidance of a local driver. We reached Georgetown at 6 p.m. on the 20th. This was a Hudson's Bay fort, the only house left standing when the Sioux Indians rose in rebellion in 1862, and massacred all the men and carried off all the women and children. They burned every house to the ground except this one. The men and women living at this post put up a British flag, and the Indians said: "That is the Queen," and left the house unmolested.

We heard from the mail courier that Mr. Macdougall, with his family and most of his party, had left Pembina on his return the Saturday before. We left Georgetown at 6 a.m. on December 21st, and met Mr. Macdougall and his party

LEROCQUE'S HOUSE AT PEMBINA, IN WHICH CAPTAIN AND MRS. CAMERON STAYED IN DECEMBER, 1869

at 2 p.m. Mr. Richards, his Attorney-General, told me he had not had his clothes off for two months, living in hourly danger of losing his life. Mr. Smith and I stopped to talk to Mr. Macdougall, and Mr. Hardisty went on to the next point, which was about a mile distant, where we intended to camp for the night.

After a little time I said I would go on, as I thought they might wish to converse together privately. When I was about half-way across the prairie to this point, as if by magic half a dozen Indians rose up before me. I had left my revolver in the sled. They could not speak a word of English or French, except "Red Lake." They said, in answer to my signal as to where they came from, "Red Lake." I had a racoon skin coat on, which they felt over, and after jabbering away they passed on in the direction of Georgetown. I went on my way.

By the most direct route, from Fort Abercrombie to Pembina, across the prairie, the distance is 200 miles; but the Red River is so circuitous between these points that it traverses 600 miles. We struck across the treeless prairie, making the points on the Red River for dinner and night. Along the margin of the river the land, for some fifty yards in width, is some ten feet lower than the prairie, and that belt is covered with forest trees. At night we stopped in this forest belt and made a large fire from the fallen timber. There was about a foot of snow on the ground, which we cleared away with a shovel; put an indiarubber cloth on the ground, our mattress on that, and then our blankets and buffalo skin over all. We

lay in the open air with our feet to the fire, which rarefied the air and made it quite comfortable.

At the last house at which we dined on the prairie, before reaching Fort Abercrombie, they gave us some broiled elk. We asked them if they could let us have a hindquarter of this same. The landlord took us to an outhouse where six fine elk were standing like horses in a stall, all frozen stiff. We had among our baggage a box two feet square, prepared for our journey by the agent of the Hudson Bay Company, at St. Paul. It contained potted chicken, tongue, etc., brandy, whisky, and wine, with bread, biscuits and cake, etc. This we ignored. We fried elk meat in butter with potatoes, and ate that with bread, and drank tea by the pint. At Fort Abercrombie we set a tin pail of new milk out at night and in the morning it was frozen solid. This we broke with a hatchet for use in the tea. When the elk was finished we took to fat pork with potatoes instead. The ozone we were breathing constantly was so stimulating that we wanted nothing stronger than tea by way of stimulant, and when we reached Pembina Mr. Smith gave the box of provisions, which we had never opened, to my daughter.

To resume. We reached Grand Forks on the 22nd, at 10.30, where we saw the Indians fishing on the river; slept at Antoine Girard's log-house; started at 4 a.m. on the 23rd, and dined (?) at North River at 8.30. As the horses became very tired, we walked the last eight miles. It was very cold. We camped half-way between Salt River and Little Salt River. On the 24th we started, after

a cold night and bad dreams, at 8 a.m., reached Big Point at 1 o'clock p.m.—12 miles from our camp and 80 miles from Pembina, stopped at Two Rivers for tea, and drove on with Antoine Girard to Pembina, which we reached at 11 p.m. on Christmas Eve. When we arrived we found that Captain Cameron was occupying the log-house erected by Mr. Macdougall for his party.

When I went in, my daughter Emma sat up in bed and said, "What did you come for?"

Next day a young woman, a daughter of Mr. Cavalier, the postmaster, was taken ill, and as there was no doctor in the place I was requested to see her. It was merely an hysterical attack, and yielded readily to treatment.

Mr. Smith went on to the Hudson Bay Company's post, two miles north of Pembina. I wished to go on to Fort Garry with him, but he said that would not do, as all at Fort Garry knew the active part I had taken in bringing about Confederation, to which they assigned all their troubles. I told him that I had promised Sir J. A. Macdonald to get into Fort Garry, and that I intended to do so. Mr. Smith said that he would try to get them to allow me to go in to see Mr. McTavish, who was very ill, and let me know as soon as possible.

On Sunday, the 26th, having heard nothing, I asked Mr. Ronlette, the American Customs officer, if he would take me to Fort Garry. He said if he could get a pass from Colonel Stutsman he would. Colonel Stutsman was a very clever official of the United States, who had been born without any legs, but was one of Riel's confidential advisers. He told Ronlette that if he had the power he would

not dare to do it, as it would compromise the American Government. When Ronlette said he could not go, I told his father, a drunken old fellow, who had married a full-blooded Sioux squaw, that if he would let his other son, a boy of seventeen years of age, take me to Fort Garry, I would pay him whatever he would ask. He said he should go.

I then went to Cavalier's ostensibly to give directions for the treatment of his daughter during my absence, but really to see Colonel Stutsman, who lived there. He said that he was very sorry he could not do anything to meet my wishes, after my kindness. I told him I wanted him to advise me as to the best course to take to get to Fort Garry, as I wished to obtain the things that had been taken from Captain Cameron, and it was necessary for me to see Riel for that purpose. He advised me to call on Father Richot, at St. Norbert, and say that he had recommended me to do so. Fearing the people at Pembina, who were very hostile to the Canadians, would prevent my going to Fort Garry, I hurried away as quickly as possible, being only able to secure a buffalo skin, a bottle of sherry, and a loaf of plain bread. When we reached the Hudson's Bay post the half-breed boy who was driving, said: "If you could get the factor here to lend us a toboggan we would be much safer as, in the case of a snow-storm, it would run over the snow while our sleigh would stick."

I said, "Drive in. I can get anything he has."

I then knocked on the door, which, to my astonishment, was opened by my fellow-traveller,

Mr. Smith. I exclaimed: "It is not possible that you could be here for two days without seeing me, knowing as you do, my great anxiety to get to Fort Garry just now and return?"

He replied: "It is at the cost of one's life to go to Fort Garry just now. Riel has seized the fort, and has all the arms and ammunition and whisky. A man was shot yesterday, and it is simply courting death to go there at present."

"But why did you not tell me this when you knew of my impatience to hear from you?" I replied.

"Well," he said, "I knew you were a very impetuous man, and I was afraid you would do something rash."

"I called here to ask your factor for the loan of a dog-cariole. Can I have it?" was my reply.

"Of course you can have anything you wish, but for God's sake do not go there just now."

I said I was much obliged, but did not come for advice, and that I would take the dog-cariole. We put the horses in the shafts and left our sleigh. A dog-cariole is a large canvas shoe on a toboggan, in which a man can lie down, and the driver stands on the open part behind him.

With the sun about an hour high, we started for Scratching River, nearly twelve miles distant, with no house before we reached it. There was about a foot of snow on the prairie, but we drove on a beaten track. The sun went down, and shortly afterward the boy pulled up and said, "We must go back. There is going to be a frost."

The temperature was then 30 degrees below zero. I said, "What do you mean?"

He replied: "You will soon see."

Within ten minutes we were enveloped in a frozen fog, so dense that I could only make out the horse's head.

"The Red River cannot be more than a mile from here on our right. We will go there and make a fire," I remarked.

"I have no matches and no axe," the boy replied.

"We must be more than half way to Scratching River, and it is as easy to go forward as back. I will walk ahead of the horse and keep the track."

This I did, and when my foot went into the soft snow on one side or the other I went to the centre; but after a time I lost the track, and we could not regain it.

I confess I was very much alarmed. We could not tell whether we were going east, west, north or south. We were like a boat on the trackless ocean in a fog without a compass.

I thought of walking around the conveyance in a circle until daybreak; but the cold was so intense I knew that we must perish unless something occurred to release us from our difficulty. The sky overhead was clear and suddenly I remembered that, when I was eight or nine years old, my father took me out one fine night and showed me how to find the Pole Star. The knowledge saved us. I soon got hold of the pointers, and then the star.

"We are all right, my boy," I said. "Turn the horse's head round this way, and haw or gee as I direct."

I sat in the cariole and kept the horse's head

in line with the star. When we had proceeded in this way for some time the boy said, "Here is a man's track crossing us!" I decided to follow it, and preceded the horse. In about half a mile I struck the Red River, and following the track, crossed it and went up the other side, where we saw a light. It was then 10.30 p.m.

There we found a French half-breed and his wife, neither of whom could speak English, who had come there (to Little Lake) three months before to get out wood for making cart-wheels. He had built a log-cabin and stable, where he kept his cow and horse. We explained that we were lost, and received a warm welcome. His wife fried some deer he had killed, and made galute before the fire from English flour. The tea and sugar were from England, via the Hudson's Bay, and with cream and fresh butter, made a delicious supper. As there were neither table nor chairs, she spread a piece of East India matting on the floor and served the supper on it. I rolled myself up in the buffalo robe, and with my feet to the fire slept soundly.

The next morning our hosts put us on the road. We stopped at Clive's, at Scratching River, where we had dinner. The host and his wife were both half-breeds, and some of their children were like Indians, while others had light hair, blue eyes, and fair complexions.

This reminded me of Walker on "Inter-marriage," whose theory was that the reproduction of animals is by halves.

We reached Riviere Sable at 6 p.m., where I went, as I supposed, to Father Richot's house.

It proved, however, to be the St. Norbert Nunnery. Two young ladies, Sister McGregor and Sister Riel, received me. I told them who I was, and that I was on my way to see Mr. Riel, and had been advised to consult Father Richot. After consulting with the Lady Superior, I was told that Father Richot would not be home before morning, and that if I would remain they would make me as comfortable as they could. They gave me a good supper, and had the boy and horse taken care of.

After further consultation with the Lady Superior, I was told she did not know that Father Richot would return to-morrow noon, and that, as my time was valuable, if I would write a letter to Mr. Riel they would provide a messenger and send it. I thanked them, and said I would take advantage of their offer. I wrote until the messenger was ready. Then, without giving them any time for further consultation, I said that it was very absurd of me to send a letter, put on my coat, cap and gloves, bade the sisters good-night, with many thanks, and drove away.

My driver, Theophile Biste, was a Canadian Frenchman, who could not speak English. He drove me some nine miles on the east side of Red River until we arrived at Fort Garry. He struck three loud blows on the gate, sung out the password, when the gate was opened by a sentry, and we drove in. Biste bade me remain there until he returned, which he did in a short time, and asked me to follow him. He then took me from one room to another filled with armed men, with thick overcoats on and their muskets stacked,

until, by the time we reached the Council Chamber, we must have passed some two hundred of them.

I was at once admitted to the Council Chamber where Riel was sitting at the head of the table round which were a dozen wild-looking fellows. Among them were Père Richot and Mr. Le May from Pembina. Riel rose, and coming down to where I was, shook hands with me and asked me my business. I said I was Dr. Tupper, an independent member of the House of Commons, and that I had come to take my daughter back home, but as his men had taken Captain Cameron's horses, wagons and baggage, I had come to ask him to allow me to obtain them.

His reply was: "You must have seen Captain Cameron's servant on the road between here and St. Norbert, as I sent him with one of my constables to bring the man here who has the horses and wagon."

"I have never seen Captain Cameron's servant, and would not know him if I met him," was my reply.

Riel then said, "If you will return with the man who brought you here, and remain at his house until 4 o'clock to-morrow, I will undertake that all the things belonging to your daughter shall be there."

"You are very kind, but as I am here, would it not be well for me to go into the town and see the person who has these things in his possession?" I asked.

"No," said Riel; "I think I can manage this matter better than you, and I only undertake to do so on the condition stated."

I could only reply: "I dare say you are quite right, and I will accept your kind proposal."

We shook hands again, and I left the fort and returned to St. Norbert.

When we reached there about midnight, I asked my driver how far it was to Antoine Gonslan's, in whose possession the horses were, and finding it was under two miles, told him to drive me there. He did so, roused up Gonslan, and told him that I had been to see Riel, and the result of the interview.

Gonslan turned out the horses, harnessed them in the wagon, and put in the horse clothing, and I got into the wagon and we drove back to Biste's. As they had only one room in the house, they made me a bed on the floor. I was very comfortable, and in the morning found I had slept on a hair mattress which I had given to my daughter in Halifax. I remained the day, December 29th, at Biste's, as I had promised Riel. At 5 p.m. two sleds drove up to the door with half a ton of my daughter's trunks. Nothing had been taken from them. Immediately afterwards Père Richot arrived and invited me to spend the night at the glebe house. I thanked him and said, "I hope, Father Richot, you do not suppose I was foolish enough to take the risk of coming here to get these trifles. My object is to see you, and as you cannot speak English nor I French, well enough for so serious a purpose, I propose we should go to the nunnery and get one of the young ladies I saw last night to interpret for us and discuss this important question fully."

Sister Macdougall acted as our interpreter. I

told Father Richot that it was impossible for the rebels to succeed in holding the country against Canada, and if they avoided shedding any blood they would obtain everything they could desire by negotiation, and the leaders who accomplished that result would be entitled to great consideration.

Père Richot replied that Canada could never conquer the half-breeds; the country was so vast, they could retire, and sustain themselves by hunting, and, as a last resort, they could join the United States and become a State in the Union. I replied that the United States would not give them the slightest aid, as it would involve them in a war with England which, as matters then stood, meant the independence of the Southern States, which the North had made such enormous sacrifices to prevent. He seemed much impressed, but said that there was one man who must die: naming him, and saying that that man had offered a half-breed one hundred dollars to shoot him (Father Richot), but that when he drew a bead upon him through a pane of glass God paralysed his arms and the rifle fell down.

I said, "If that could be proved the man would be severely punished, but that the shedding of one drop of blood by the insurgents would ruin all, and would be murder."

After two hours' discussion we went to Père Richot's house, where, at 10.30, Riel and Mr. Le May, of Pembina, came and spent the night. I avoided anything but general conversation with them. Père Richot, at my request, found me a half-breed, Solomon Vine, who contracted to take

us all to Fort Abercrombie. I wished to bind him to start in two days. He said, "I cannot do that as I turned out my horses on the prairie in October, and have not seen them since." On my asking, "How can you hope to find them?" he replied, "I expect to find them where the wild oats grow," as he did; and they were in fine condition.

Père Richot gave me a pair of Indian moccasins, and I gave him Captain Cameron's tool-box and ammunition. Sisters Macdougall and Riel sang in Cree for me. They were both highly accomplished ladies, although the mother in each case was a full-blooded Indian. Sister Riel went to Isle à la Crosse, a remote region in the North-West, where she devoted her life to teaching Indian children. Louis Riel was her brother. I corresponded with her up to the time of her death. When visiting Winnipeg I always called upon Sister Macdougall at St. Boniface, until her death.

Mr. Le May, on the morning of the 29th, received an urgent message from his wife to get me to return to Pembina as soon as possible, as their daughter had been attacked in the same way as Miss Cavalier. We left for Pembina at one o'clock, and before we reached there on the 30th, Mr. Le May was fully converted to my views regarding the insurrection. He wrote me that he was in danger of being lynched at Pembina for advocating negotiations with the Canadian Government, as I had recommended.

I prepared a memo. for Colonel de Salaberry, who was immediately allowed to go to Fort Garry, and Grand Vicar Thibeault, who had been practically a prisoner in his residence, was allowed his liberty.

I wrote from Pembina to Sir J. A. Macdonald as follows:

Pembina,
Dec. 30th, 1869.

My dear Sir John,—We reached here Christmas Eve, and on Sunday afternoon I started for Fort Garry. The sisters at St. Norbert, in the absence of Father Richot, sent a man in the confidence of the insurgents with me to Fort Garry, where I arrived at 8 p.m., and saw Mr. Riel in council. I informed him who I was, and that my object was to obtain my daughter's luggage, etc. He requested me to go back to St. Norbert, and assured me that I should receive everything there the next day. I spent the night at my driver's house, near Father Richot's, and the next day, in the evening of which Father Richot came and invited me to spend the night with him, which I did. We discussed the question in all its bearings, and I hope some good was effected. Father Thibeault was really a prisoner, having been escorted to the palace, and remaining there under observation. I advised that he and Colonel de Salaberry should be received and have an opportunity of communicating the views of the Government. At 10 p.m. Riel and Mr. Le May, a prominent adviser of the former, came to St. Norbert. I avoided any personal communication with Riel, but in the morning Father Richot informed me that they had decided to receive Colonel de Salaberry and Father Thibeault, and that the former could come forward. I have this moment returned to Pembina, and have but a moment to write this hurried line to you, as the post will close in a few minutes.

Mr. Le May tells me that Mr. Smith went before the council and said as the officer of the Hudson Bay Co. he was prepared to acknowledge the only government he had found in the country, and Le May added that his act would be followed generally. I think I see a chance for the amicable adjustment of this very serious business, and hope I have paved the way for Colonel de Salaberry and Father Thibeault to make some progress; but you will, I think, have to send ultimately a statesman of standing and ability, armed with large discretionary power. Captain and Mrs. Cameron and I will leave here in a day or two, and I will lose no time in coming at once to you.—Ever yours faithfully,

(Sd.) C. Tupper.

Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald.

It is only right to say here that Mr. Smith went to Fort Garry the day after I saw him, and discharged the duties imposed upon him by his commission with great judgment and ability.

Captain and Mrs. Cameron and myself—Mr. Vine having arrived with the baggage—left Pembina at 4 p.m. on our return on January 3rd, 1870. On the 6th of the month we camped at Frog Point, and had to put up a canvas tent, as it snowed. We were much colder than when sleeping in the open, as we did not get the benefit of the fire. On the morning of the 7th a good deal of snow had fallen, and the wind was blowing pretty hard. We held a council of war to decide whether we should attempt to proceed. Our driver, who proved a most efficient man, did not think it was safe, as,

if the storm obliterated the track we would be lost. The mail courier with his train of six dogs, who slept at our fire, said that he was caught at that spot just a year previously in a similar storm, and was unable to proceed for three weeks, and had to eat one of his dogs.

We decided to leave the decision to my daughter, and the temptation of reaching Georgetown and sleeping in a house was so great that she said she would take the risk. We went, but had great difficulty in keeping the track, and reached Georgetown at 8 p.m. We slept there, and reached Harris's hotel at Fort Abercrombie the next day, January 9th, at dark. I found I had increased my weight during the twenty-one days since I left Fort Abercrombie from 170 to 190 lbs. We sent our baggage on to St. Cloud and rested on the 10th at Harris's hotel. We reached the railway at St. Cloud at 5 p.m. on the 13th and our baggage arrived ten minutes later. We left at 8 a.m., and reached St. Paul at 1 p.m. Mr. Kittson, the agent of the Hudson Bay Company, called with letters from home. My daughter, who had stood the journey admirably, was not very well. We left St. Paul at 8 a.m., reached Prairie du Chien at dark, where we took a sleeping car and arrived at Milwaukee at 7 a.m. There we remained over Sunday the 16th; left there at 7 a.m., and reached Chicago at 11 a.m. Captain Cameron went on at 4 p.m., and Emma and I followed at 8 p.m., in the palace sleeping car. We met him at Detroit Junction at 8 a.m. on the 18th. We breakfasted at Sarnia and reached Toronto at 7 p.m., where we took a sleeping car

and reached Prescott Junction at 7.30, and Ottawa at 11 a.m. Captain and Mrs. Cameron remained at Ottawa. I left for Halifax at 8 a.m. on the 25th; reached New York at 9 p.m., and sailed in the *City of Boston* at 3 p.m. I reached Halifax at 4 p.m. on the 28th, all well.

The *City of Boston* took on board a dozen of the leading merchants of Halifax and sailed for Liverpool.

She was never heard of afterwards.

The foregoing account of my experiences with Riel rather amplifies the brief record of them given by Pope, in his memoirs of Sir John A. Macdonald, vol. ii., page 61.

"Mr. Smith was an officer of the Hudson Bay Company, ostensibly going as such, though provided with a commission from the Canadian Government, to be used if occasion required. His special mission was to endeavour to bring about the dispersion of the half-breeds and the dissolution of their committee.

"Dr. Tupper also paid a visit to the Red River at this time, and had a conference with certain of the disaffected leaders."

And in a footnote on the same page he says: "Dr. Tupper went up to bring back his daughter, Mrs. Cameron, and got into Fort Garry. He was in the country about two days, and did more good than anyone else who had hitherto gone there. (From Sir John A. Macdonald to the Hon. John Rose, dated Ottawa, January 21st, 1870.)."

Supplementary to this chapter I append one of the letters I received from Sister Riel, which will serve to illustrate the vicissitudes of the lives

of the "Sisters of Charity," who devoted themselves to the missions of the North-West:

Convent of St. Joseph,
Isle à la Crosse,
Sept. 10th, 1880.

To The Honourable Charles Tupper.

Honourable Sir,—I must apologise for having delayed so long to offer you the expression of my most sincere gratitude for the twenty dollars you have been so kind to give me for my poor dear orphans of Isle à la Crosse, which I received with your letter in May. I was delighted to know that God, in His infinite bounty, had spared your days so far. I praised Him for His paternal care of my most worthy and esteemed friend, and I began to hope, according to your letter, that I would have the happiness to see you in the course of the summer. My pupils and dear orphans prepared for the desired arrival, sharing the sentiments of their teacher; but how disappointed we were when days, weeks, months passing on, the beautiful season was gone, and with it the hope of seeing you at Isle à la Crosse; this explains you the silence I kept after the reception of your generous alms and so kind letter. My thanks have lost nothing of their sincerity, I assure you, and I pray you very humbly to accept them. My pupils, orphans and myself will every day, by earnest supplications, draw down on you Heaven's most precious gifts, a long and happy life, success and wealth, but above all the joys and felicity of the Other and most happy life! . . .

Honourable and Dear Sir, our trials are very great this year; we have had one of the most rainy summers ever seen. Our immense lake covers nearly the whole island, and our beautiful crops are in a great danger, cattle starving, the hay made on the highest lands is presently in the water; the rivers, swamps and creeks overflowing on all sides; the water raises every day and puts our Mission in a great danger because our island, being small and sandy, our houses have no foundations and, made of wood, they certainly cannot resist long to the dreadful waves of our immense lake. We are in a great distress, not for us, but for our invalids, poor, orphans and pupils . . . sheltered in our asylum . . . but the holy will of God be done! . . .

The 10th of August we had a dreadful storm after sunset, that made us think of the end of the world; the sky became of a bloody hue at first; then the wind, increasing fearfully, the lake was in a terrible agitation, the waves raising to an immense height, lightning, thunder so incessant and dreadful from eight o'clock to ten, that one expected to be struck at every minute. Rain poured down so heavily that in an hour the houses seemed built in the lake; the small space of land occupied by the Mission was flooded, we were all in a dreadful consternation; at last, when the clock struck ten, the storm diminished, thunder ceased, and stars gradually appeared in the sky. We all retired to bed, thanking God for having spared us in this hour of danger. In the morning we were much grieved in seeing our beautiful crops of wheat and barley soaking in the water and crushed down by

the dreadful storm. But we put our confidence in our Heavenly Father, and although in a country where no one can assist us, being surrounded only by poor naked and starving Indians, who all come to us for relief, we hope our Heavenly Father will touch the heart of wealthy persons of happier lands and assist us by their means.

May I be allowed to assure you once more of my esteem, my profound respect, and sincere gratitude.

I am, Honourable and Dear Sir, your very grateful servant,

SISTER RIEL,
Sister of Charity.

CHAPTER VI

HOW THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY WAS FOUNDED

THE motives that impelled Sir John A. Macdonald and his colleagues at Ottawa to "round off" Confederation by adding the Province of British Columbia to the Union after the North-West Territories had been acquired from the Hudson Bay Company were based on national as well as Imperial considerations.

What would have been the fate of British Columbia if it had remained isolated from Eastern Canada by an unexplored "sea of mountains" and vast, uninhabited prairies?

There is no question that it would have inevitably resulted in the absorption of the Crown Colony on the Pacific coast by the United States. Social and economic forces were working in that direction from the date of the discovery of gold in 1856. Thousands of adventurous American citizens flocked to British Columbia, and between the two countries there was a good deal of inter-communication by land and sea. Sir James Douglas, an ex-Governor, a prominent figure in the early days of the colony, was opposed to Confederation.

Until his eleventh-hour conversion, ex-Governor Seymour entertained similar views. The appointment of Anthony Musgrave, a pro-Union man, in

1869, came at a psychological moment when the Imperial authorities in London were giving their ardent support to the cause dearest to the hearts of Canadian statesmen.

The offer of the Dominion Government to build a railway from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast was the chief inducement that settled the political destiny of British Columbia. The story of the great difficulties encountered and the obstacles overcome in carrying out that gigantic and epoch-making project forms an interesting chapter in Canadian history. As Minister of Railways at the time, I had something to do with the preliminary negotiations and the carrying out of the work.

The Government of Canada, having been successful in acquiring the North-West Territory, felt that the completion of Federation, both for national and Imperial consideration, involved the addition of British Columbia. Sir John A. Macdonald's views in regard to the wisdom of this step were shared just as strongly by every one of his colleagues. They realised that a federation, to be effective for a young nation, must represent a union extending from sea to sea.

At that period we were also hopeful of including Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. Newfoundland is still "out in the cold" after the lapse of nearly half a century, despite the efforts made by Sir John Macdonald's Government; but I am hopeful ere long that the colony will become part of Canada. Prince Edward Island, after a good deal of hesitancy and uncertainty from the days of the historic conference at Charlotte-

town in 1866, came into the Union in 1873, a year after the parliamentary representatives of British Columbia had taken their seats at Ottawa.

It would have been impossible to retain British Columbia as a Crown Colony if overtures in favour of the Union had not been made by the Dominion. How could it have been expected to remain British when it had no community of interest with the rest of Canada from which its people were separated by two ranges of mountains and the vast prairie? Under the existing circumstances it had no means of advancement except by throwing in its lot with the great nation to the south, with which it had constant communication both by land and sea.

We all felt that we were bound to make the hazard of incurring the large outlay for a transcontinental railway if Confederation from coast to coast was to be made a reality, and if the sovereignty of Britain was to be retained. Accordingly, negotiations towards the admission of British Columbia were started in real earnest about the end of 1869. Although sentiment in Vancouver Island, on the whole, was unfavourable to Confederation, the entire mainland, including Cariboo, then an important factor, was practically a unit in its favour. Old-time elements, represented by Sir James Douglas, ex-Governor Seymour, and other prominent men, were in opposition.

The most potent of all the arguments for Union was the promise it held of promoting overland communication with Eastern Canada. This it was, according to a statement in the "Life of Sir James Douglas," that finally silenced the opposition of

Seymour. In any event, the death of Seymour in 1869 led to the appointment of an avowed advocate of Confederation, Anthony Musgrave, previously Governor of Newfoundland, and with an experience of administration gained in the West Indies. A tour of the colony which the new Governor immediately undertook confirmed the view that the overwhelming sentiment of the population was in favour of Confederation. In addition came formal instructions from England that the Governor should take such steps as he properly and constitutionally could, either in conjunction with the Governor-General of Canada or otherwise, to promote the favourable consideration of the question.

When the Legislative Council of the colony met in the session of 1870, Musgrave had a series of resolutions prepared for its consideration. In a memorable debate which, the records show, began on March 9th, 1870, and lasted to the 25th of the same month, the terms on which British Columbia should become a part of the Dominion were definitely formulated.

The delegation sent down to Ottawa to complete the negotiations already under way consisted of Messrs. Trutch (afterwards Sir Joseph) Carrall, and Dr. J. S. Helmcken. In the terms formulated by British Columbia there was no provision for responsible government; in fact, a clause which was attempted to be inserted by members of the Council was defeated by a majority vote of that body. The late Hon. John Robson, the late Mr. H. E. Seelye, and Mr. D. W. Higgins held a conference, and decided that in order to secure

parliamentary government it would be necessary for one of their number to proceed to Ottawa and inform the Government there that unless responsible government was assured they would oppose the adoption of the terms altogether, and thus delay Confederation.

Mr. Seelye was selected as the delegate. He succeeded in convincing the Dominion Government that his contention that the province was sufficiently advanced to entitle it to representative institutions was correct. When the terms came back they contained a clause to that effect, and upon those lines the provincial government has ever since been administered.

The provincial Legislative Council, which was partly appointive, passed the terms of union with Canada in January, 1871. It was its last session, giving way in the following year to a Provincial Legislature. The terms of union were embodied in the enactment, which passed the Dominion Parliament, after a four-days' debate, on April 1st, 1871. The Confederation Act of 1867 provided all the machinery for admitting Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the North-West, and British Columbia.

The main provisions upon which the Pacific coast province entered the Union ensured, in the first place, that the Dominion should assume all debts and liabilities of the colony, as well as undertake to build a railway from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast within ten years, and to commence actual railway construction within two years after the date of the Union. The idea of an all-rail route to Eastern Canada from British

Photograph by W. Notman & Son, Montreal

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART. (1870)

Columbia did not take shape until about 1880, as it was thought that the needs of the situation could be met by providing steamboat communication between the head of the Great Lakes and the settled portions of Ontario.

At that time there did not exist any road worthy of the name of highway across Southern British Columbia to the vast and lonely prairies. It is true that the Hudson Bay Company had its own trails through the northern and central sections of the province, but only for the purpose of packing in supplies or shipping out the fur catch. Of commerce in the ordinary sense there was none. Ordinary communication between British Columbia and Eastern Canada in those days had to be conducted via San Francisco or the Isthmus of Panama. First among the early explorers that crossed the prairies to the coast was Simon Fraser, who reached the mouth of the Fraser River, named after him, in 1808. The next explorers of note to accomplish the same feat were Dr. Cheadle and Lord Milton, M.P. They made the overland trip in 1862–4. During the ensuing ten years the explorers included such well-known men as Mr. (afterwards Sir) Sandford Fleming, Walter Moberley, Prof. Macoun, and Dr. Bell, of the Dominion Geological Survey; Captain Butler, a British army officer; H. J. Cambie, C. F. Hanington, and T. H. White. Mr. Sandford Fleming, as chief engineer of the proposed transcontinental railway, entered the field seeking for a favourable route as early as 1871. In the following year he made, in the company of the late Principal Grant, of Queen's University, an overland trip between Fort Garry and the Pacific coast.

The Confederation terms, especially the clause agreeing to the construction of the railway, were bitterly opposed by the Liberal party. The Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, leader of the Opposition, denounced the railway project as impracticable and far beyond the resources of the Dominion to carry out successfully. His followers, without exception, declared that it would result in the ruin of the country and adversely criticised the other features, including the provision for awarding a contract to a public chartered company incorporated by the same Act of Parliament. Sir Hugh Allan and his associates, among whom were a number of Americans, were anxious to enter into a contract to build the line from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast.

Well, as a consequence, we went to the country in 1872, in the first general election since Confederation, charged by the Opposition with undertaking the impossible. In the sharp and bitter campaign which followed the Liberals created a good deal of alarm among the electorate, especially in Ontario and Quebec.

The result was that Sir John A. Macdonald was returned to power by a greatly reduced majority. That he was not defeated was due to the sentiment created in Nova Scotia by bringing the Hon. Joseph Howe into the Government in 1869 and myself in 1870. We carried every seat in the province, Mr. Church, of Lunenberg, being the only independent supporter. Howe and I were elected by acclamation. Those were the days of open voting.

Sir George E. Cartier, the leader of the French-

Canadian Conservatives, went down to defeat. He subsequently was elected for a Manitoba seat, but never sat in the House again. Failing health prompted him to proceed to England to consult a physician, and there he died in 1873. Cartier had a lovable personality, and was a man of great ability and influence in Parliament, where his loss was keenly felt.

Events moved with sudden and dramatic swiftness during the session of 1873. The Hon. L. S. Huntingdon, a Liberal, formulated charges that Sir John and Cartier had received large sums of money from Sir Hugh Allan to carry the recent election. This is what is known as the "Pacific scandal," but it can be better described as the "Pacific slander," the appellation I gave it in one of the hottest debates I ever participated in. The Opposition alleged that the money had been used to corrupt the electorate, and that Sir Hugh Allan was to be rewarded by securing for his company a contract for the building of the proposed railway to British Columbia.

Without going now into the details of that historic affair—for it is a large subject in regard to which many misconceptions exist—I can only say that during the debate Sir John lost so many supporters that he tendered his resignation and gave way to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, whose Ministry included a number of our former supporters, seduced from party loyalty by contracts and Government positions and the bribe of portfolios. The Liberals sprung the general elections in 1874, and swept the country from end to end. Everybody seemed to think that Sir John A. Mac-

donald and the Conservative party would never recover from the effects of the so-called "Pacific scandal," and that the Liberals were destined to hold the Treasury benches in perpetuity.

But just the very opposite happened. Soon after the great Liberal victory a reaction in favour of the Conservatives set in throughout the country, aided greatly by the blundering incapacity of the Mackenzie Government, and the real facts connected with the "Pacific slander" becoming known.

The following letter, which I wrote to Sir John Macdonald in 1876, throws a sidelight on the Conservative campaign of this period:—

Ottawa,
Jan. 29th, 1876.

My dear Sir John,—Your letter received yesterday does not surprise me. I am satisfied that the Government are in great difficulty, both internally and externally, and I have long thought it not improbable that they might try some such *coup* as you mentioned, and with the view of checkmating them I have, at some risk of separating myself from a portion of our press and party, persistently denounced the policy of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway as a Government work, and maintained that the terms of the resolution moved by Sir G. Cartier relieved Canada from any such obligation. This I hold to be the true policy for our party and the only one that can be adopted in the interests of the country, and any other would involve our complete defeat if we were to go to the country. I hope you have improved the opportunity offered by the opening of the

club to deprive them of that trump card. Then, if they persist in the construction of the road by the Government, the only policy, in my opinion, that can give us a road to the Pacific within the next fifty years is the construction of a direct line from Nipissing to Red River as rapidly as can be done consistently with due regard to economy. As the road has been commenced from Thunder Bay, I would at once make that an all-rail line to Red River, and then extend the road from Nipissing to the junction with that line 60 or 70 miles from Nepigon, leaving the line from the junction to Thunder Bay as a branch. In this way, and this only, can we hope to throw such a population into the North-West as will make a Pacific railway possible. With this policy fairly accepted by our press and party, we can go to the country to-morrow and beat the enemy handsomely.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD.

By-elections and election trials enabled us to reduce the Liberal majority by nearly 50 per cent., and when Mackenzie appealed to the country in 1878 we swept it from end to end with our "National Policy." Sir John then found himself on the Treasury benches with a majority of about eighty members.

Exploratory surveys in search of a suitable route for the proposed railway were continued by Mr. Fleming after the advent of the Liberals to power. The Crows' Nest Pass route, although known to exist, was not regarded with favour, as it was considered inadvisable to build a line too close to the

international boundary, and the Kicking Horse Pass route, subsequently adopted by the Canadian Pacific Railway, had not yet been discovered.

The consensus of opinion favoured the adoption of the Yellowhead Pass as the point of entry into British Columbia. The question arose as to the most suitable route from that point westward to the coast. In 1873, and for the next three or four years, various instrumental surveys were run from the coast eastwards to meet other parties working westward from Yellowhead Pass. These routes included one from Port Simpson, 27 miles north of the new city of Prince Rupert; Bute Inlet, Howe Sound, and from Burrard Inlet up the Fraser River to Kamloops and thence up the North Thompson, the identical route of the Canadian Northern Railway now under construction. The first-mentioned route was that which was adopted by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. For a time it looked as if the new Government favoured a line from Yellowhead Pass to Bute Inlet, bridging the Seymour Narrows and thence extending a line along the east coast of Vancouver Island to a western terminus at Victoria.

The delay in starting construction and carrying out other terms of the Confederation pact aroused considerable ill-feeling in British Columbia. This led the Mackenzie Government to dispatch the late Hon. J. D. Edgar to the coast in 1874 with the object of effecting a compromise. His mission did not prove very successful, and later in the same year a settlement was effected by Lord Carnarvon, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to whom the matter had been referred for arbitration.

This settlement is now known as the "Carnarvon terms." Mr. Mackenzie gave way to Sir John A. Macdonald's Administration in 1878 without having built one yard of railway in British Columbia.

That bitter feeling existed in British Columbia over the delays is evidenced by an episode that occurred during the visit of Lord Dufferin, Governor-General, in August, 1876. One of the arches along the line of route His Excellency was to follow during the official reception in Victoria bore this inscription: "Carnarvon Terms or Separation." Hearing of it, the Governor-General declined to pass under the arch unless the wording was altered. His Excellency suggested that the substitution of one letter in the inscription would meet his wishes, which would make it read "Carnarvon Terms or Reparation."

Having been the chief critic of Mr. Mackenzie's railway policy during our five years in opposition, Sir John A. Macdonald, in forming his Cabinet in 1878, tendered me the portfolio of Railways and Canals, and assigned to me the chief task of inaugurating a vigorous policy in regard to the building of the line from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific coast. While the Liberals had not done anything in British Columbia, they had placed some hundred miles under contract from Port Arthur westward and from Selkirk eastward. Mr. Mackenzie's policy was to place steamboats on the intermediate water-stretches through the Lake of the Woods, his vision not grasping the necessity of connecting the prairies with the head of the Great Lakes by an all-rail route. The Conservative party, it must be conceded, possessed more pro-

gressive ideas. The new Government at once decided to link up the gap by a railroad, and lost no time in placing contracts for over two hundred miles to provide an all-rail route from Port Arthur to the Red River.

In regard to the western portion of the line, between Winnipeg and the coast, two years elapsed before the Government could revise the Mackenzie surveys to determine upon the most favourable route. Early in 1880, after getting the results of the various revised surveys and other data, I concluded that the best route was that previously located by the Mackenzie Government, from the Yellowhead Pass via the North Thompson River to Kamloops, and thence by the main Thompson and Fraser Rivers to Port Moody, the nearest deep-water port on the Pacific.

My report to the Council was adopted, and soon afterwards I awarded to Mr. Andrew Onderdonk, an American, contracts for building the line from Yale to Savonas, near Kamloops, for about eight million dollars, and later let the work from Yale to Port Moody. Thousands of Chinese flocked to British Columbia to find employment on the railway.

My idea in awarding a contract at the outset for the work between Yale and Kamloops was because it was the heaviest and most difficult section, and its earliest completion meant the breaking of the backbone of the undertaking. Yale, being at the head of navigation on the Fraser, was a convenient base for the contribution of supplies and materials.

I have been criticised for my action in locating

the official terminus at Port Moody instead of not extending the line still farther westward to the site of the city of Vancouver. Well, all I have to say in reply is that the Canada of 1880 was not the prosperous, wealthy, and well-populated Dominion that exists to-day. Our only idea was to get to the nearest point on tide-water affording deep water for shipping, and this Port Moody was found to possess in every respect. The people of Eastern Canada were paying the bill, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had not even been organised or incorporated. It was no concern of mine if the company at a later date, of its own volition and at its own expense, undertook to run their line farther westward to Burrard Inlet, thereby laying the foundations of this great city.

Our railway policy was received with enthusiasm in British Columbia. It also bore fruit in Manitoba, which was even then attracting considerable numbers of settlers from the older provinces. One of my first acts as the head of my department was to change the route adopted by the Mackenzie Government. The plans of the Liberals did not provide for the railway touching at Winnipeg. Mr. Mackenzie selected Selkirk as the point where the main line would strike west across the prairies. I considered it unfair to isolate a town of the growing importance of Winnipeg.

In the first parliamentary session of 1880, after Onderdonk had got his contract well under way, the Hon. Edward Blake introduced a resolution in favour of stopping all work west of the Rockies. In a vigorous denunciation of the railway policy, he declared that the country was threatened with

ruin for the sake of twelve thousand white people out in British Columbia. His resolution was defeated, although every member of the Opposition, including the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie and the Hon. (now Sir) Wilfrid Laurier, gave it their support.

When the House rose, Sir John A. Macdonald, who was also Minister of the Interior, observed in Council that he had made up his mind that a system of local railways was needed in the North-West in order to attract immigration. We proposed to bonus them with land grants. He spoke of his intention of going to England that summer for the purpose of enlisting capital in the project. "I want you all to meet me here this day week with any suggestions or advice you can offer," was his injunction to his colleagues.

"Sir John," I replied, "I think the time has come when we must take the advance step. I want to submit a proposition for building a through line from Nipissing in Ontario to the Pacific coast."

"I'm afraid, Tupper, that's a rather large order. However, I shall be pleased to consider anything you have to submit," was his genial comment.

On the appointed day I presented my report to Council. It gave estimates and every other detail. My proposition, in brief, recommended that a contract be entered into with a responsible company for the completion of a transcontinental railway on these terms:—

"The Government to complete and hand over to the company the line between Port Arthur and Winnipeg and the line from Kamloops to Port Moody, and a branch already completed from

Emerson to Winnipeg ; also a cash bonus of twenty-five million dollars and fifty million acres of land."

The extent of the railway then built and under construction by the Government was about seven hundred miles. My estimate of the cost of the mileage to be handed over was thirty-two million dollars, and I recommended that the time limit for the completion of the road by the company be ten years. I gave reasons for my belief that the undertaking could be carried to a successful conclusion, and that strong men could be induced to take hold of the enterprise.

"I heartily agree with you," declared Sir John in the whole-souled, generous spirit that always characterised him, after I had concluded my remarks in favour of a through line, to be built, owned, and operated by a chartered company. Our colleagues concurred, and the report was unanimously adopted.

Shortly afterwards Sir John, the Hon. John Henry Pope, and I went to England with the object of inducing financiers to interest themselves in organising a company to build the railway. We were accompanied by Mr. George Stephen (Lord Mount Stephen) and Mr. Duncan MacIntyre, of Montreal. Mr. MacIntyre was then engaged in building a line subsidised by the Government through the Upper Ottawa Valley to Nipissing. As this line was regarded as likely to form a link in the proposed through line, Mr. MacIntyre hoped to join forces with any combination of British moneyed men that might become interested in the larger railway enterprise. His theory, as later events showed, proved correct.

British financiers did not display any frenzied

haste to engage in railway building across the continent. Sir John, soon after landing in England, authorised me to sound Sir Henry Tyler, president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, in the hope that his board might be induced to consider favourably our proposition. I did so. "If you omit the clause providing for a line around the north shore of Lake Superior to Eastern Canada, I shall be pleased to lay the matter before my board of directors. Otherwise they would throw it into the wastepaper basket," was Sir Henry's ultimatum.

"We must have a through line," I assured him in parting.

Sir John, Pope, and myself then looked elsewhere for capital. Ten years later, in the general elections of 1891 Sir Henry Tyler instigated an uncalled-for attempt to defeat Sir John A. Macdonald by bringing to bear against the Conservative party all the power and influence of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and also sought to influence unfairly their employees. I made a public accusation against the company on Declaration Day in Amherst after the election, and this evoked a general denial from Sir Henry Tyler in the London *Times*. I replied, and the controversy raged some time. I challenged him to meet me before his board of directors, to whom I was prepared to submit proof, but he declined. The Grand Trunk Railway board subsequently retired Sir Henry.

But to revert to our mission to London in 1880. We entered into an agreement with a number of capitalists who later became known as the "C.P.R. Syndicate," to build the transcontinental railway

on the precise basis of my report and recommendations to the Government. The agreement was signed in October. The members of the original syndicate were Mr. George Stephen (Lord Mount Stephen); a Montreal financier, Mr. Duncan MacIntyre; Sir John Rose, a former Canadian Minister of Finance; Mr. Kennedy, a New York banker; Mr. Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), and Baron Reinach, of Paris. The names of Mr. Smith and Mr. J. J. Hill, however, did not appear, their interest being held by other parties. At a later date Mr. Smith's connection with the syndicate and the company afterwards organised was made public. This followed a reconciliation with Sir John A. Macdonald, from whom he had been estranged since the session of 1873. Mr. Hill did not long remain a member of the syndicate. He withdrew to devote himself to build the Great Northern Railway. Baron Reinach was a well-known French financier. He afterwards committed suicide in Paris in connection with the affairs of the Panama Canal Company.

On our return to Canada, in the fall, Parliament was called, the chief business being the submission of the contract between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway. At a party caucus held before the debate commenced a number of the Government supporters expressed the opinion that the country was proposing to assume greater obligations than it could bear. I gave very detailed explanations to show that these fears were groundless. I concluded my address by declaring that, while I did not pretend to be a prophet, or the son of a prophet, I felt confident that they would all live

to see the Canadian Pacific Railway contract become the strongest plank in the Conservative platform. The Opposition, led by the Hon. Edward Blake, fiercely assailed the contract, taking the view that if approved the Dominion would be ruined.

When the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays after a prolonged debate, Mr. Blake carried the war into the country and addressed large public meetings at London, Ont., Toronto, and Montreal. He denounced the Government in unmeasured terms for having the temerity to ask Parliament to approve of so iniquitous a contract. As soon as I learned his intentions, I wrote him asking permission for me to appear on the same platform, as I considered it would be more interesting to let the people hear both sides of the case. Mr. Blake, with some reason, I must admit, replied that he could not consent to my suggested arrangement, as the subject was so vast a one that he would need the whole evening to do justice to it.

Then I had our friends publicly announce at each of Mr. Blake's meetings that I would appear in the same hall the following night to give my views of the Canadian Pacific Railway contract then before Parliament. I probably had an unfair advantage, as I had his speeches in my hands a few hours after they were delivered, and was thus able to deal with his arguments seriatim. Sir John Abbott, in complimenting me on my Montreal speech, declared that he never fully realised before the influence of the human tongue. He stated that when the meeting opened one-third of the audience was friendly, one-third was neutral, and one-third was hostile; and that when I concluded speaking

one-third was friendlier than ever, a third was converted, and the other third was silenced.

The debate was resumed in Parliament after the holidays, nearly every member of the Opposition going on record in their speeches against the Bill, which, however, was carried by a majority of 76. There was not a single vote lost on the Government side. Thus was laid the foundation of the great Canadian Pacific Railway, which actually paid working expenses from the date of its completion. The present pre-eminence of that corporation is a household word throughout the world. Even so shrewd an observer as Sir Sandford Fleming once felt constrained to declare that the line could not be made to pay operating charges until the North-West had a population of two million people. History will justify the wisdom of Sir John's Government and the Conservative party in having abounding hope and confidence in the future of the Dominion.

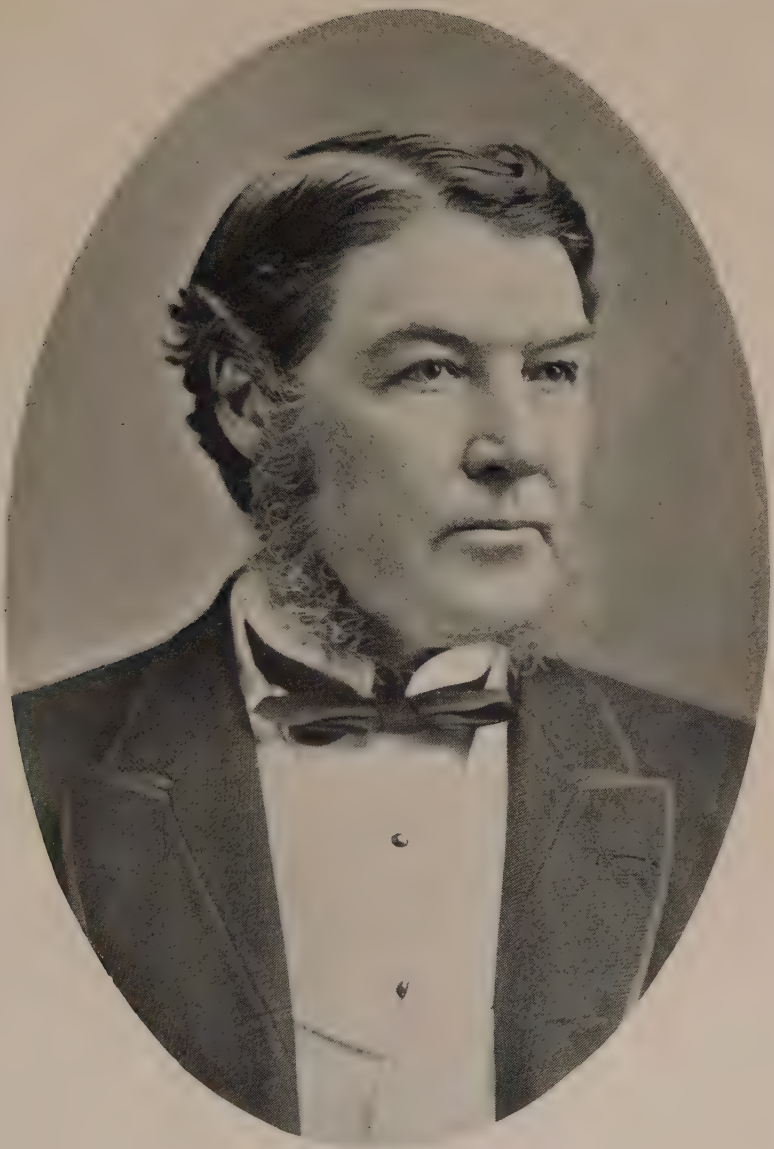
The same year (1881) witnessed the most phenomenal activity in railway construction on the Government sections and on the portion the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had pledged itself to construct. This state of affairs actually continued until the driving of the last spike by Sir Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), at Craigallachie, B.C., on November 6th, 1885, when the first overland train from the East passed over the line to the Pacific coast. The line was opened for traffic in the following spring.

CHAPTER VII

VICISSITUDES OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY

My first official trip of inspection to British Columbia was made in August and September, 1881. The journey was made by rail across the continent to San Francisco and thence by steamer to Victoria. My party, in addition to Lady Tupper and Colonel and Mrs. Clarke, of Halifax, included Mr. Andrew Robertson, Montreal, the Hon. Dr. Parker, Halifax, and Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, Government chief engineer of railways. *En passant* I am glad to note that Mr. Schreiber, although in his eighties, is still active and vigorous, performing similar service in connection with the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. He is a valuable public servant, an engineer of great ability, a high-minded man, and in all my career I never met an individual gifted with so great a love of, or capacity for, work.

We proceeded from Victoria to Nanaimo, then visited Captain Raymur's saw-mill on the water-front of the then unborn city of Vancouver. There was then only one house in Vancouver. It was occupied by the manager of the mill. Port Moody and New Westminster were visited before going by steamboat to Yale, the base for railway construction eastward along the Fraser. I rode on horseback from Raymur's mill to New Westminster. It was a track through the woods. My reception was very



Photograph by Bradley & Rulofson, San Francisco

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART. (1881)

cordial, and I was the guest of honour at a number of public banquets. I found some ill feeling existing at Victoria over the action of the Government in making the terminus at Port Moody, instead of at Victoria, as had been originally projected in Mackenzie's earlier scheme for a railway down Bute Inlet, across Seymour Narrows and along the east coast to Vancouver Island to Victoria. In a public speech I convinced them that the advantages were all in favour of a direct line to Burrard Inlet.

At Nanaimo the mayor and council presented me with an address of welcome, and Mr. Bunster, M.P., took advantage of the occasion to attack the Government for not carrying out Mackenzie's promise to construct a railway from Nanaimo to Victoria. In my reply I paid my respects to Mr. Bunster, much to the amusement of the audience, advising the people that they might have better luck if they exercised more prudence in the selection of their representative, and so they did at the next election.

As a matter of fact, the trip of Mr. Andrew Robertson, at that time a Montreal merchant prince, was made at the request of the Canadian Pacific Railway to report on the advisability of that company undertaking the construction of a railway between Nanaimo and Victoria. Mr. Robertson reported in favour of the proposition, but the Canadian Pacific Railway, having its hands fully occupied elsewhere at that period, did not take any action, and later the road was built by the Hon. Robert Dunsmuir, with the assistance of the provincial and Dominion Governments. After a quarter of a century had elapsed, the line passed under the control of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Our trip inland from Yale to Kamloops inspecting the railway construction work then in progress was a novel and delightful experience. The route as far as Lytton was along the famous Cariboo wagon road, our chief driver being Mr. Steve Tingley, then famous as a whip. Members of the party occupied the same stage coach that was used by Lord Dufferin in an earlier trip.

Our party returned to Victoria, took steamer to San Francisco, where I was received and entertained by the Canadian colony, before proceeding to Winnipeg, where railway matters again occupied my attention. I then inspected the main line eastward for 130 miles, and westward as far as Brandon, then a town just six weeks old. Construction by the company was in the meantime being pushed westward across the prairies.

At that time the Government, at the request of the Canadian Pacific Railway, had induced Parliament to consent to modifications in the route. It had then been settled that the road, instead of taking the Yellowhead Pass route, should take a more direct course via Bow River and the Kicking Horse Pass, and thence in as direct a line as possible to a junction with the Government section near Kamloops. A tunnel through the Rockies was even then talked of, but this work proved to be impracticable, owing to the enormous expenditure involved.

At a later period the Canadian Pacific Railway wanted the Government to extend the line from Port Moody to Burrard Inlet—of course at the expense of the Government. Its request was refused, as I advised that we had carried out our contract in building to the tide-water, affording

good facilities for steamers, and that if the road were to be extended it would have to be done at the expense of the company. This, of course, was done later.

I went to England in 1883, to fill the position of High Commissioner for Canada, the Hon. John Henry Pope being acting Minister of Railways and Canals during my absence from the Dominion. I still retained my seat in the Cabinet. Meantime the Canadian Pacific Railway was being extended across the continent at a rate of speed never previously attempted anywhere, and probably never surpassed since. This rapid progress was largely due to the marvellous constructive genius of Mr. (Sir) W. C. Van Horne, the general manager.

No problem that ever arose—even that of conquering the Rockies and Selkirks—had any terrors for him. As commander-in-chief, he won a world-wide reputation, and was assisted by many able lieutenants, including Mr. (Sir) Thomas Shaughnessy, Mr. Harry Abbott, and Mr. R. Marpole. Other notable figures prominently connected with the construction work as contractors or otherwise were Mr. James Ross, of Montreal; Messrs. (Sir) William Mackenzie, (Sir) Donald D. Mann, H. S. Holt, H. J. Cambie, and T. H. White, of Vancouver.

Sir Thomas Shaughnessy began his Canadian railway career with the Canadian Pacific Railway as purchasing agent in the early 'eighties. His rise to the position of president of that company was due to sheer merit and ability. He has a forceful personality, is gifted with great administrative ability, and to-day directs the vast operation of the greatest railway enterprise in the world.

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway by a population of about four million people was no ordinary undertaking. When the United States, with a population of forty millions, linked Omaha with the Pacific coast by a direct rail, it was heralded as a stupendous achievement. In opposing the railway policy of the Conservative party, one of the stock arguments of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie was to quote the already referred to opinion of (Sir) Sandford Fleming, first Chief Engineer of Surveys, to the effect that an all-Canadian line could not possibly pay until the North-West had a population of two million people.

The year 1884 was a critical one in the history of the company. Committed to enormous expenditure during the preceding three years owing to the magnitude of the work, its directors had got to the end of their tether. They could not raise any more money in London, where the Grand Trunk Railway Company then exerted a considerable influence. The same fate met them in New York, owing, it is alleged, to the hostile attitude of the Northern Pacific Railway, and Mr. J. J. Hill, then engaged in financing and building the Great Northern Railway.

I had gone to Birmingham to propose a vote of thanks for an address on Canada to be delivered by the Marquis of Lorne, a former Governor-General. Lord Norton, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies when federation was carried, presided, and it had been arranged that I was to spend a holiday with him at his country seat at Hams. During the course of the lecture I received a cable from Mr. Pope, acting Minister of Railways, inform-

ing me that the Canadian Pacific Railway was in financial difficulties, and urging me to return home at once. At that time I was acting High Commissioner, but still held the portfolio of Railways and Canals.

I crossed by the first steamer, and on reaching Ottawa found everybody in despair. My first act was to send for Mr. Miall, an expert accountant in the Government service, and Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, Government Chief Engineer, and instruct them to proceed to Montreal to examine the books of the railway company. As soon as they had reported I recommended that Parliament be asked to authorise the Government to advance the Canadian Pacific Railway thirty million dollars for four years at 4 per cent. per annum, on the condition that the company agreed to finish the road five years sooner than the contract called for—namely, by 1886 instead of 1891. In Parliament I advocated the granting of the loan on that ground.

"Don't call it a loan. You know we shall never see a penny of the money again," interjected Mr. Blake across the floor in denouncing the measure.

The Opposition gave him its solid support, but the Government carried the day. The Canadian Pacific Railway was practically completed in November, 1885, well within the prescribed time, and, better still, the loan, with interest at 4 per cent. was repaid when due by the company.

The settlement was effected when the Hon. A. W. McLelan was at the head of the Finance Department. It included the surrender to the Government, in part payment, of lands to the value of seven and a half million dollars, valued at

one and a half dollars an acre, which I strongly advised. In this instance, as well as in many others, all the great constructive measures tending to the upbuilding of Canada were carried by the Conservative party at the point of the bayonet.

At a later date, when acting as High Commissioner in London, my assistance in the flotation of the first issue of twenty-five million dollars of Canadian Pacific Railway 5 per cent. bonds was sought by Sir George Stephen (Lord Mount Stephen), the then president of the Canadian Pacific Railway. I told him not to tell Sir John Rose about having consulted me, and promised to see what I could do in the money market. I was successful in interesting Lord Revelstoke, head of the house of Barings and Glyn, which had always had intimate relations with the Grand Trunk Railway. Later, when Sir George Stephen reached Liverpool on his return from Canada, he was pleased to learn that I had closed a contract with Barings and Glyn to take half of the issue at 91, with the privilege of issuing the second half at a later date. "You have given far too much," was Sir John Rose's comment, when he learned of the transaction. Sir John at that very time was organising a company to tender at 75.

My reputation did not escape attack for my prominent connection with the building of the railway. The *Toronto Globe* made several charges of jobbery and other improper practices during the period of construction from 1880 to 1885. I induced Sir John A. Macdonald to appoint a Royal Commission to conduct a most searching investigation. The inquiry was conducted by the late Judge

Clark and Mr. Keefer, an eminent engineer. The evidence was taken under oath, and the scores of witnesses examined included engineers, contractors, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, and myself.

Not one word of evidence to support the charges, even in the remotest way, brought by the *Globe* was adduced. At my request the secretary of the Commission was instructed to ask the *Globe* to produce its own witnesses. That newspaper replied that it had no evidence to submit, and that it had simply written on hearsay, rumours of jobbery and "graft." The proceedings and evidence taken before the Commission occupy two large volumes, which are still extant. Thus ended the attempt to slander my reputation as a public man.

I have always maintained, and still fervently believe, that the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway would have been an impossibility without the inauguration of the National Policy of the Conservative party. Our fiscal policy gave Canadians a new sense of independence, preserved their home markets to a certain degree, developed our manufacturing industries, protected our farmers, and, by giving employment to our people at home, provided us with the revenue to carry out a vigorous railway policy. It stopped the exodus of our young people to the United States, led to the settlement of the North-West, and the development of an enormous inter-provincial trade made possible by the existence of railways as well as the great canal system perfected from year to year. If the Eastern provinces made sacrifices in the first instance on behalf of the West, they are now reaping a just reward. We have to-day a homogeneous

and prosperous nation living under conditions not surpassed anywhere on the globe.

Many years ago I ventured the opinion that the child was born that would live to see the population of the Dominion exceed the population of the Mother Country. The Hon. Mr. White, the accomplished and able Minister of Finance, enjoying better opportunities for judging, went one better by declaring that this will actually be accomplished within the next twenty-five years. I have little doubt of the accuracy of his prophecy.

British Columbia is one of the richest, if not the richest province in the Dominion. It is on the threshold of a destiny unparalleled in its magnificence. With its salubrious climate and enormous resources, embracing soil, minerals, coal, water-powers, fisheries, and forest wealth, no limit can be set to its possibilities. It is a young man's country, and the rewards for industry and enterprise will be well worth striving for.

There will be millions of people there yet. You will not find any spare ground between Vancouver and New Westminster. It will be all built up into one solid city. The opening of the Panama Canal will without question have a momentous effect on the development of British Columbia generally.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "NATIONAL POLICY"

THE so-called "Pacific Scandal," the resignation of the Conservative Government, the accession of the Liberals to power under the leadership of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, and the subsequent rehabilitation and vindication of Sir John A. Macdonald by the Canadian people constitute the most stirring Canadian political events in the 'seventies. Not less important during the same decade was the consistent advocacy of a protective policy by the Conservative leaders, and its crystallisation into legislation after the Liberals met with overwhelming defeat at the polls in 1878.

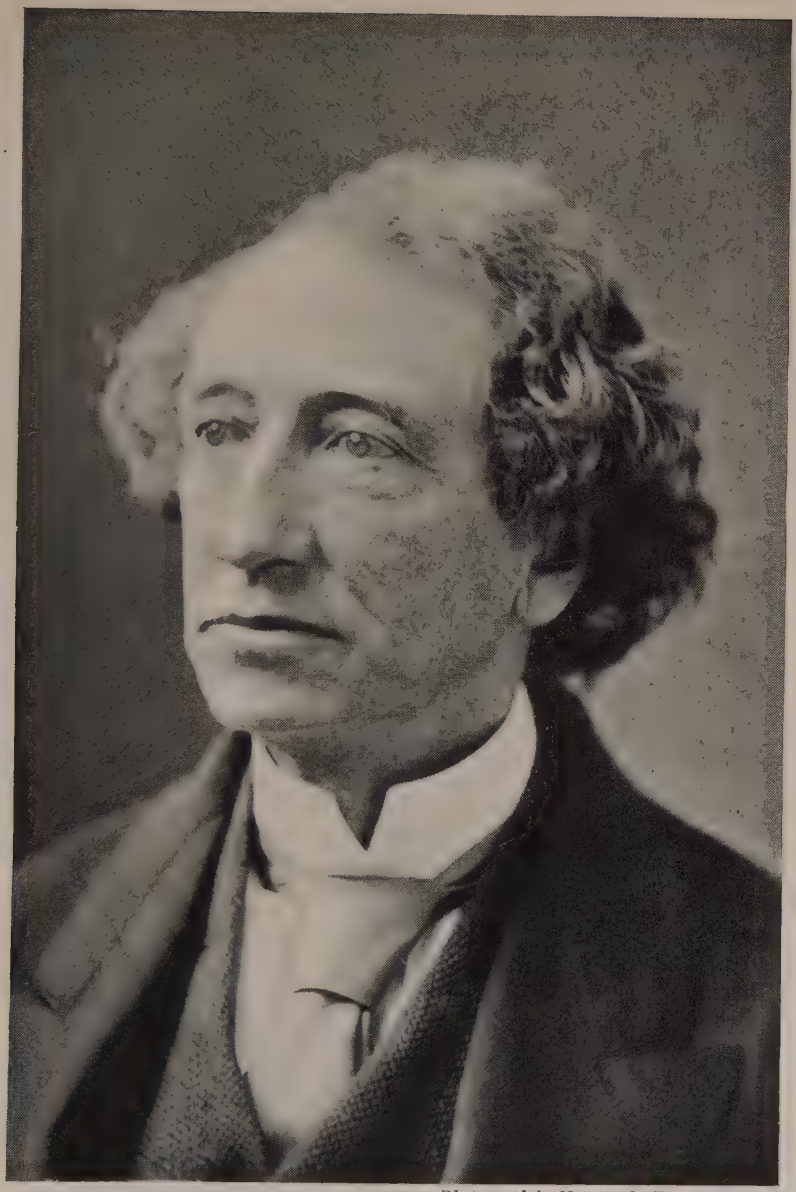
That policy is known to-day, as it was then, as the "National Policy," a name which I coined in the heat of a prolonged debate in the House of Commons in February of 1870. Through the dark days of Opposition from 1873 to 1878, on the floor of Parliament and at hundreds of public meetings throughout the country, Sir John Macdonald and I had proclaimed our faith in a protective fiscal policy, and at length had the satisfaction of seeing it adopted by the Canadian people.

In the general elections of 1872 Sir John A. Macdonald was returned to power by a greatly reduced majority, due, without question, to the bitter hostility the Liberals roused in the country

against the building of a transcontinental railway to the Pacific coast. Nova Scotia alone returned a solid Conservative contingent. This was in marked contrast to the prior election in 1867, the first after Confederation, when I was the only Conservative elected in my native province.

History, slow in its final judgments, will some day characterise the so-called "Pacific Scandal," which proved the undoing of the Conservatives, as the "Pacific slander," an appellation I gave to the Liberal shibboleth just about forty years ago. It is probably true that both parties spent money freely in the campaign of 1872 in the Upper Provinces. However, when the new Parliament assembled, the Hon. L. S. Huntingdon, member for Sherbrooke, brought charges that Sir John and his colleague, Sir George E. Cartier, had obtained enormous sums of money for corrupting the electorate from Sir Hugh Allan, of Montreal, who was the principal figure in a company organised to build the proposed transcontinental railway.

Mr. Huntingdon in proof read what he claimed to be the originals of telegrams that had been exchanged between the Premier and Sir Hugh, at that time the senior partner and the founder of the Allan steamship line. One of the alleged telegrams from Sir John to Sir Hugh read: "Please send me another ten thousand dollars." Sir David Macpherson also headed a rival company organised to take advantage of the Government's offer to build the railway. Sir Hugh had a number of American associates. Sir John notified him that the Government would have nothing to do with him if these "aliens" were retained, and urged an amalgamation with



Photograph by Notman & Fraser, Toronto

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

Sir David's company. No arrangement to that end having been effected, Sir John, on behalf of the administration, formed a new company, himself naming directors from the various provinces. Sir Hugh was included on the list. At the very first meeting of the new company Sir Hugh, the president, was overruled. He subsequently went to England to raise capital for the railway enterprise, but failed. He was accompanied by Sir John Abbott, who acted as legal adviser.

But to return to the Huntingdon charges. Sir John made no reply, and the House in turn voted confidence in him and his administration. Then a day or two later our leader formally asked the House to deal with the charges by referring them to a committee composed of the leading men of both parties. The House acquiesced, and appointed a committee of which Messrs. Mackenzie and Blake were named members, entrusting it with full authority to send for witnesses and take evidence under oath.

Sir John, who was anxious for the fullest investigation, expressed doubt as to whether the committee had authority to take evidence under oath, as it was not in conformity with British practice. He referred it to the Imperial Government, which sustained his contention. Headed by Mackenzie and Blake, the Liberals refused to serve because the oath was not administered.

Sir John then appointed a Royal Commission consisting of three eminent judges, with authority to hold an investigation, examine witnesses under oath, and report the evidence to Parliament. When everything was known, no act of corruption

was brought home to the Premier or any member of his Government, which still had a majority in the House. What is more, not one single member of Parliament on the Conservative side was unseated in the subsequent election trials, while a number of Liberals were unseated, and some were disqualified. It seems unfortunate that in Canada there is no institution analogous to the Carlton Club entrusted with the distribution of funds for legitimate campaign purposes.

It was agreed that Parliament should be called *pro forma* to receive the report of the Royal Commission, and that no other business would be transacted. The Opposition assembled in full force, raised a row at prorogation, and appealed without avail to Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General.

At the fall of the session Mr. Mackenzie submitted a resolution of want of confidence in the Government. Party feeling ran high, and the utmost bitterness prevailed. During the progress of the debate Lord Dufferin sent for Sir John and asked him to resign.

When Sir John took me into his confidence, as he always did, I proceeded to Government House and sought an interview with the Governor-General.

"Lord Dufferin," I said, addressing Her Majesty's representative, "I think you have made a fatal mistake in demanding Sir John's resignation. You are to-day Governor-General of Canada and respected by all classes; to-morrow you will be the head of the Liberal party, and will be denounced by the Conservatives for having violated every principle of Constitutional Government. If Her

Majesty would to-morrow undertake what you have done she might lose her throne."

"Well, what do you advise me to do?" asked Lord Dufferin.

"I desire to recommend that you cable the Colonial Office and ask what it thinks of your action."

The result of that interview was that Sir John was aroused from his bed at two o'clock in the morning and notified that Lord Dufferin had recalled his decision. The record is, I have no doubt, still on file in the Colonial Office. The result of my advice was that Lord Dufferin served out his term with distinction, went home with the acclaim of both parties, and subsequently had a brilliant ambassadorial career after serving as Viceroy of India. Mackenzie and I spoke at the farewell banquet tendered him in London before His Excellency sailed for Bombay.

But to revert to the prolonged debate on the want of confidence resolution submitted by Mr. Mackenzie, leader of the Opposition. The discussion proved very animated. I did my utmost to defend Sir John, but the tide had now commenced to set in against him. The resolution never came to a vote as we lost so many of our supporters by desertion that the Government resigned. The Liberals captured six or seven of our leading men by bribes of seats in the Cabinet and governorships or fat contracts. Of these deserters I shall have more to say later.

Mr. Mackenzie was called upon to form a Government. He dissolved Parliament soon afterwards, and appealed to the country in January, 1874.

We returned a corporal's guard. William Macdonald and I were the only Conservatives elected in Nova Scotia. The Liberal victory was a sweeping one; but even in the moment of defeat I never doubted but that the pendulum of public opinion would ere many years swing as strongly in the opposite direction. My judgment was not shared by many of our leading supporters. Sir John was considered politically dead. He thought so himself, but I never entertained that view.

"I am done for," declared Sir John to me in expressing a desire to relinquish the leadership of the party in my favour shortly after our political debacle. The ex-Premier had struck the lowest ebb of his political fortunes. He felt his defeat keenly, and earnestly believed that the people of Canada would never restore him to their confidence. His experience has been paralleled by other statesmen in other countries. I knew Sir John's strength better than himself. It required every argument I could use to induce him to remain at the head of the party. I told him that he was not only mistaken in regard to himself, but that the strongest lever at the next general election would be the desire to repair the injustice done him.

Despite my efforts, Sir John for a considerable time after our defeat took little part in politics, seeming to prefer to remain in the background. Gradually he realised that a reaction in his favour had set in, and little by little his one-time jauntiness returned. The bungling incapacity of the Liberals also conspired in his favour. Under a low revenue tariff from 1874 to 1878 Canada had a business depression never equalled before or since.

The farmers had no markets, factories were closed down, and hundreds of thousands of young Canadians were obliged to emigrate.

The various Canadian provinces enjoyed phenomenal prosperity under the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty negotiated in 1854. This treaty was abrogated by the United States in 1866. Times were especially good during the American Civil War period. The United States, owing to the vast population withdrawn from industrial pursuits, proved to be Canada's best customer, and there was no question of a tariff issue as the abnormal conditions existing south of the boundary gave us all the protection we needed.

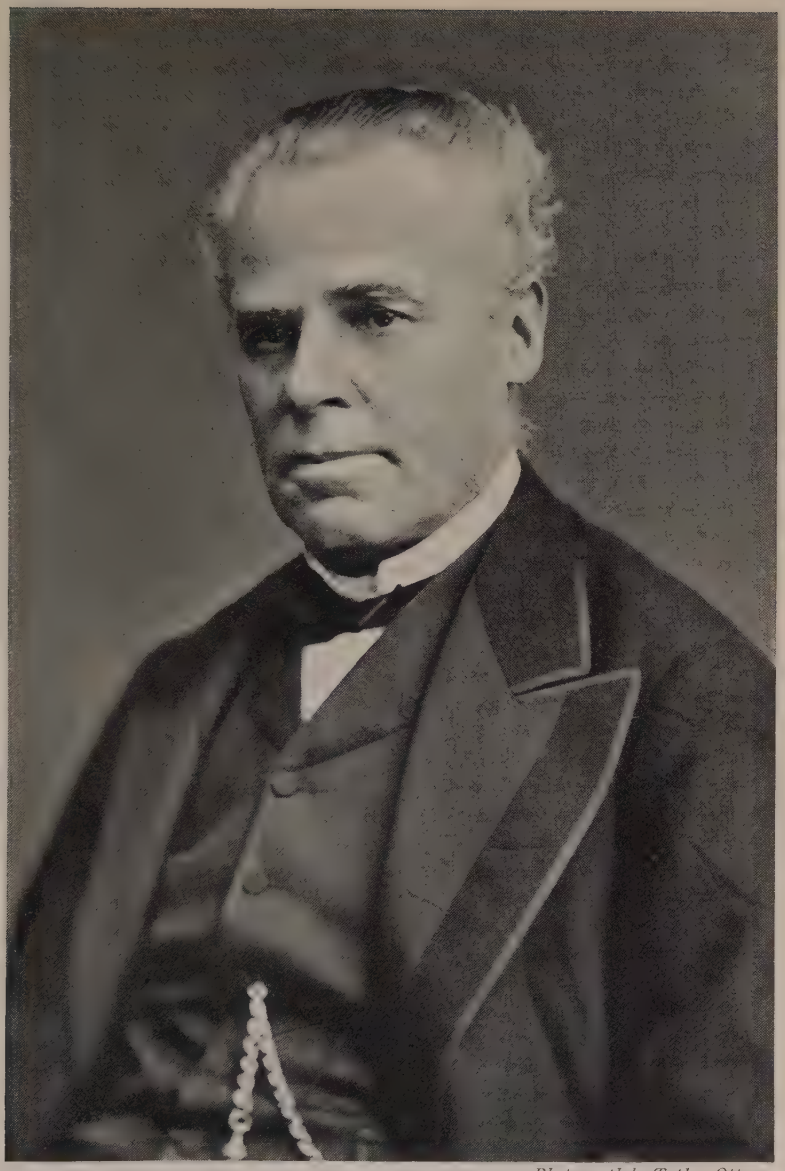
But this situation was not to last for ever. With the close of the Civil War was inaugurated a nation-wide movement for the encouragement and protection of American labour and American industries by the imposition of heavy duties against foreign competitors. That policy has only recently been modified. The Hon. W. H. Seward, probably one of the ablest Secretaries of State, felt confident that the abrogation of the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty would force Canada into the American Union. In a famous speech just after the close of the Civil War he declared that Canada, owing to its geographical position, with Halifax on the Atlantic and a stretch of country extending to the Pacific, must inevitably dominate the trade with the Far-East. He was a man of vision, and his prophecy in that respect has since been verified.

In those days, owing to the lack of railway facilities, there was little inter-provincial trade. The bulk of the trade of the Maritime Provinces was

then with the New England States. The termination of the Reciprocity Treaty hit us a hard blow, and but for that circumstance we should probably have been unable to convince the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick that our future was in a union with the Upper Canadian provinces. Gradually the restrictive policy of the United States tariff—a policy wisely directed to the upbuilding of American industry—began to be more acutely felt in the Dominion, and its full effects were experienced by the time the Liberals got into power in 1873.

Mackenzie did nothing to relieve the situation. His low revenue tariff permitted the American people to gain access to our market, while Canadians were virtually excluded from that of their neighbours. The effect of the American high tariff was not only felt by the Canadian farmers and manufacturers, but it produced a largely increased demand in Canada for American manufactures, and a more than corresponding increase in the demand for the manufactures of Great Britain, of which the trade returns of Canada showed abundant proof.

After the Liberal victory in 1873 I engaged in medical practice in Ottawa, usually spending a portion of the summer at St. Andrews, N.B. When later my son in Toronto was bereaved by the death of his young wife, who left an infant daughter, I decided to remove to that city. It proved to be my headquarters for the next two years. I practised there and also took an active part in politics. I not only attended Liberal meetings and demanded and obtained a hearing, but accompanied Sir John on numerous tours. We probably attended scores



Photograph by Topley, Ottawa

SIR GEORGE CARTIER

of political picnics during the summer months. Not one portion of the province was overlooked.

I had one amusing experience during the first by-election, that of North Renfrew, where the Liberals announced three meetings. Our friends in that riding telegraphed me to meet Mr. Mackenzie, the Premier, who had been induced to speak on behalf of the Government candidate. At the ticket office whom should I encounter but Mr. Mackenzie? He seemed very angry, and refused to recognise me. We both boarded the same train —on a line which at the time did not extend as far as our destination. When we got to the end of the run we found that the hotel-keeper had reserved us a small table for dinner, our coming evidently having been announced. Seeing the situation, Mr. Mackenzie—who was not without humour —burst out laughing, and I confess I did likewise.

"Well, Tupper," he said, as we seated ourselves opposite each other, "I guess we had better make the best of it. My friends have sent me a sleigh to cover the rest of the trip, so you had better share it with me."

"Thanks," I replied in declining; "but my friends have done the same."

Then and there we agreed upon the arrangements for the meeting. Mackenzie was to speak first, I was to reply, and the Premier was to be allowed fifteen minutes to close the meeting. I drove there in my own sleigh. Mr. Mackenzie spoke very pleasantly, and I could only reply in kind. Then he used his fifteen minutes to make an effective attack. I respected our previous arrangement and had to take my medicine. Mr. Mackenzie proposed

the same arrangement for the next meeting and I agreed.

But I was not caught napping that time. He spoke very pleasantly in his first address, but I used the opportunity to criticise his Government in the severest terms and evened up the score. And as Mr. Mackenzie had only fifteen minutes in which to close the meeting, he did not make a very effective reply. The election was won by the Conservatives, whose candidate was the Hon. Peter White, who later became the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Another memorable by-election was the contest in Toronto to fill up the vacancy created by the elevation of Mr. Moss, the Liberal member, to the bench. Our candidate, the Hon. John Beverly Robinson, won by over five hundred majority. It was at the declaration of the poll that Sir John A. Macdonald made his first public reappearance after his defeat. He received a hearty reception. We toured the province together for the next two years. Our party unseated many Liberal members in the Court for corrupt practices, and we won a majority of the by-elections in every one of which in Ontario and the Maritime Provinces I actively participated. In our various tours the *Toronto Globe* criticised my speeches the day after their delivery, and it was my invariable rule to demolish its arguments at the very first opportunity.

One of my other favourite subjects was the so-called "Pacific Scandal." I publicly defied the Liberals at their own meetings to put their finger on one parliamentary supporter who had left us on that account, and proved that bribery by the

Liberals had caused the defections in our ranks. No fewer than six of our supporters left us to accept seats in the Cabinet; others were placated with governorships or with fat contracts. Sir Albert Smith, of Westmoreland, first elected as a Liberal, got back to the House in 1872 by running as a Conservative. His reward for bolting was the portfolio of Marine and Fisheries. The Hon. Mr. Cauchon, later Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, got a seat in the Cabinet for deserting. He was the individual whose "corruption smelt to Heaven," according to the indictment of the *Toronto Globe*.

The Hon. Isaac Burpee, a former Liberal elected as a supporter of Sir John, was given the Customs portfolio. Two other renegades, Ross of Cape Breton and Coffin of Shelbourne, also became Cabinet Ministers. The Hon. David Laird became Minister of the Interior and afterwards Governor of the North-West. Laird hailed from Prince Edward Island. I went over there in 1872 to take part in the general election. Laird persuaded me to leave. He said that the Liberals on the island would give solid support to the Conservatives, because the Liberals in Ottawa had declared the union terms granted the island were too favourable.

The following letter from Sir Francis Hincks is interesting in relation to this "Pacific Scandal" question:

418 *St. Antoine Street, Montreal,*
3rd Feb., 1873.

My dear Mr. Tupper,—There is a subject on which I had thought of speaking to you during your late visit to Montreal, but I did not get a favourable opportunity, and at last decided that I

could do better by writing. You must have noticed how the Press, in the interests of the present Ministry, ring the changes incessantly on the alleged "Charter selling." That is the favourite term for our Pacific railway policy. Now, for many reasons, there is no one who can deal with this cry so well as yourself. There was not a dollar of Allan's money spent in the Maritime Provinces; there was not a member of the Government from the Maritime Provinces who was aware of any fund for carrying elections —or, rather, for aiding in the payment of those expenses—which have been sanctioned by long usage, and which both parties resorted to, as the late proceedings have established. You, therefore, apart from your aptitude, for other and obvious reasons, are peculiarly competent to deal with this charge, and although I would not recommend *the introduction* of the subject, I can hardly doubt that an early opportunity will be afforded, if not by the Ministers themselves, by some of their warm supporters.

You could completely demolish these charges, at all events, by showing that the Ministerial plan for constructing a Pacific railway received the sanction of Parliament, and *was never deviated from in the slightest degree* except the very humble alteration regarding the land, which was to be subject to the approval of Parliament. Now if you look at the names in the two charters, 1872 Caps. 72 and 73, you will find that there was reasonable ground to hope that the scheme would be successful. The Ministry had no desire but to carry out the scheme. The amount of subsidy in land and money had been fixed by Parliament, and if there

had been only one charter no further question could have arisen. But much against the wishes of the Ministry, so popular was the scheme, and so anxious to all appearance were the leading capitalists of the country (e.g. Allan, McPherson, MacMaster, Kenny, Frank Smith, Causton, John Simpson, Gzouskei, David Torrans, Howland, Gooderham, Wilsons, D. A. Macdonald, Asa B. Foster, David Christie, Donald A. Smith, etc. etc.) to accept the Government terms, that we were placed in the embarrassing position, much against our will, of having to deal with rival syndicates of capitalists between whom there was really no cause for contention but the empty honour of which should be the president of the company. The Government decided that the stock should be allotted proportionately among the several persons, and should be open to the subscription of every one on the prescribed terms. The *sole alleged* cause of difficulty was the alliance between Allan and certain citizens of the United States which would never have been entered on but for the apathy displayed for a long time by Canadians which led the Americans to propose building the road on the terms proposed. Allan, being unable to attempt to carry out the scheme unaided, and seeing no chance of aid in Canada, was induced to enter into the agreement with certain Americans, but without the knowledge or authorisation of the Government, which took the most prompt and effectual means to prevent the possibility of such an arrangement being carried out; and so satisfied were the promoters of the Inter-Oceanic Company, the rivals to the Canadian Pacific or Allan Company, of the

efficacy of their means, that although McPherson, who himself aspired to the Presidency, would not join the new organisation, several of them—including Major Walker, Mr. Cumberland, Mr. Shantcy—joined the new company, which had only one name on it for Ontario which was on the Canadian Pacific list.

A good point can be made of the fact that Ministers—e.g. D. A. Macdonald, J. Burpee, David Christie (and probably others)—were *applicants* for charter. The terms were not settled with Allan but with a committee of the new company, and his influence was not predominant, as throughout jealousy was manifested of his influence. You can testify that Sir John never tried to promote Sir Hugh Allan's views, and that it was impossible that any arrangement could have been carried out more satisfactorily; indeed, one of the *alleged* causes of failure was the refusal of the Government to accede to demands which they thought against the public interest, although not inconsistent with the Charter. Now, after all this, *why* did Allan give large contributions to carry the elections?

Simply because the opposition to the Government were publicly avowed enemies of the scheme, and determined to upset it *per fas et nefas*. Allan was thus forced into the same boat with the Government, and to save his scheme helped all he could to carry the election of those who were in favour of carrying out the railway policy of the Government. But the charges of corruption are absurd. It may be admitted—indeed, it is patent—that certain expenses which the law does not sanction have for many years been paid on both sides by the candi-

dates and their friends. It became almost impossible to avoid paying these, but they really did not affect the elections, as has been proved by the result of elections where such expenditure has not been resorted to. I have written a great deal for which I ought to apologise, because the line of argument on many points would occur to yourself, perhaps on all. Still, I think there is a necessity for putting this matter in a proper light and for having a speech which no one can deliver better than yourself *well reported* and circulated in a separate form. Committing the whole matter to your own judgment, —Believe me,

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) F. Hincks.

Throughout the days in Opposition we advocated a radical change in the fiscal system of the country. Things were going from bad to worse. The people saw the possibility of relief in the adoption of a higher tariff, but the Government refused to apply the remedy, and clung to office. In a five-hour speech delivered to the House on April 21st, 1877, in submitting a want of confidence resolution, I criticised Mackenzie's administration of his own department of Public Works. I showed that he had failed to grapple effectually with the question of building the transcontinental, and moreover, proved that he had violated the law and every constitutional principle, all resulting in a waste of public money. The Premier was unable to make any reply worthy of a name.

"That speech of yours will never be answered, because it is unanswerable," Sir Leonard Tilley (then

Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick) wrote me a few weeks later. Mackenzie meant well, but he devoted too much time in supervising the departments of his colleagues, and doing work which should have been performed by subordinates.

As chief financial critic I also had many lively exchanges with Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Finance. Cartwright was a gifted man and resourceful in debate. A Conservative at heart to the end of his days, he left our party because Sir John A. Macdonald had a few years previously passed him over in favour of Sir Francis Hincks in filling the same portfolio. In the session of 1877 our leader moved, and I seconded, a resolution proposing such a readjustment of the tariff as would benefit and foster the agricultural, mining, and manufacturing interests of the Dominion. In the Hansard of that year, page 471, in my speech on the Budget the following appears:

"The policy the Government (i.e. the policy of the then Mackenzie Government) has pursued has had the effect of depopulating the country. It has sent away the most intelligent and skilled labour, the finest sons of Canada, to a foreign country to obtain the employment their own country denies them. This is a fatal policy, and one which must induce us to forgo all our aspirations for anything like a rapid increasing population for this country in the future, and to consent to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for our friends across the line in the great Republic of the United States. Canada has everything that can be desired to make it a great manufacturing country. We have iron, coal, and limestone. Ours

is, perhaps, the richest country for minerals to be found on the face of the globe. We have open harbours, rapid transit and communication through a great portion of the Dominion, and away in the Far West mines of gold and silver that, in my opinion, are going to excel any on the American continent.

"All we require is a policy calculated to open up and develop our great natural resources in order to make Canada all that the noblest aspirations of the most patriotic Canadian has ever supposed for a moment practical. . . . I say Canada could adopt a revenue policy or such a policy with relation to goods coming from Great Britain or from British possessions as the necessities of Canada indicated, and another tariff for all the rest of the world. That would apply only to the United States practically, because our imports from other portions of the world are, almost uniformly, articles upon which there are specific and not *ad valorem* duties, and we could adjust that in the interest of Canada as we pleased.

"I have no doubt that this would meet the only serious difficulty represented by the hon. gentleman opposite, as standing in the way of a true Canadian policy, and one that those who wish to see Canadian enterprise and Canadian industries flourish, feel it is time that the country should grapple with earnestly, and deal with as I have mentioned."

Later on, secret information reached me that Sir Richard Cartwright, reading the signs of the times aright, was getting ready to make radical increases in the tariff. I lost no time in communicating the news to Sir John.

"What shall we do?" asked our leader.

"Why, congratulate him, of course," I advised.

Unfortunately for the Liberals, they failed to realise their opportunity. When the Hon. A. G. Jones, a member of the Government, arrived from Halifax and learned of Cartwright's tariff proposals, he raised a storm of protest and threatened to bolt. That settled the matter. Shortly after the dissolution of Parliament I called on Lord Dufferin, and in answer to his questions told him that the Liberals did not have a leg to stand upon because their party had started to die the very day it had begun to live. The Government majority had at that time dwindled to about forty from over eighty in 1874, the year of their tidal wave. As I was leaving Lord Dufferin, who should enter but Mr. Mackenzie.

"Tupper tells me that the Conservatives are going to win," observed Lord Dufferin, addressing the Premier.

"Oh, he's a little too sanguine," dryly commented Mackenzie.

But he misjudged public sentiment, for in the following public election we routed the Liberals, horse, foot, and artillery, returning to power with a majority of over eighty. Sir John was, of course, called upon to form an Administration, in which I accepted the portfolio of Public Works. I subsequently had the department divided, creating a new department—that of Railways and Canals, of which I took charge. To this day that arrangement still exists, other public improvements other than railways and canals being under the direction of the Minister of Public Works.

The next four years represented years of ceaseless activity and constructive statesmanship, inuring to the agricultural and industrial development of the Dominion. True to our promises, we adopted the National Policy at the earliest moment, got under way a vast programme for the deepening of the waterways and canals of the St. Lawrence system, and after the completion of surveys, entered into an agreement for the building of a national transcontinental railway from Eastern Canada to the Pacific coast.

The effect of the substitution of a protective tariff for the Mackenzie revenue law proved magical. It restricted the exodus, gave employment in the factories to our own idle working man, stimulated every branch of manufacturing, led to the establishment of many new industries, and preserved the home market for our own people. The farmer was also given substantial protection. During the Mackenzie Administration Canada became the dumping ground for the surplus manufactured products of the United States, which, enjoying the benefit of a high tariff, rigidly excluded Canadian products of every description.

The National Policy, in my judgment, is one of the bulwarks of Canadian national life. It made possible the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, stimulated inter-provincial trade, and developed a solidarity of sentiment that has been growing stronger since Confederation was brought about.

We are to-day a self-contained people, and recent years have witnessed the spectacle of millions of foreign capital being invested in Canadian manufacturing industries. The farmer, too, enjoys his

home market. Earlier experiences of Canadian statesmen showed the futility of efforts to induce the United States to negotiate an equitable reciprocity agreement. Our tariff, while ensuring reasonable protection for all our people, has never had the almost restricted character of the American fiscal system.

It was a great day for the Dominion when the people rejected the Taft-Fielding reciprocity agreement, for under the radical revision of the United States tariff Canada, without giving any equivalent, will reap enormous advantages. As a people we have demonstrated to the world our ability to develop along national lines. Who is there that does not recall with pride the attitude of Canada at the time of the enforcement of the McKinley tariff, many of the clauses of which were specifically aimed at our common country?

The following quotations from my speech in the Dominion Parliament in February, 1870, throw some light upon the origin of the National Policy.

"But this country is so geographically situated, and so varied in its produced and natural resources, that nature has placed it in our power to protect ourselves by a policy not retaliatory or vindictive, but by a national policy which shall encourage the industries of this country. By proper attention to the development of our resources we shall have an interchange of products, and in two years I believe we shall be utterly indifferent as to whether we have a treaty or not. . . .

"I would ask whether the policy which will bring the people into the country, which will stimulate every industry in the Dominion, is not one

that is worthy of the attention of this House, irrespective and regardless altogether of its effect upon the United States; and I have no hesitation in saying that under the effects of a policy such as this that would restore greater prosperity in this country than we had under reciprocity, we shall not need to go to other countries nor to the United States for a renewal of reciprocity or improved trade relations, because they will be coming and seeking it at our hands. . . .

"Is it not worth while to try and see how far we may increase these native enterprises, and give prosperity to the country by adopting a policy which will meet the unfair opposition by which the Canadian manufacturer is met from other countries? . . .

"My honourable friend the Secretary for the Provinces has relieved his mind to some extent, but I may tell him that this Canadian policy—this national policy—this rational policy—will stimulate the enterprise of all the provinces, and will aid in and assist in building up this great Dominion. And I may further tell the honourable gentleman that so friendly is Nova Scotia to this policy of building up our own interests that there has not been one single newspaper out of the eleven newspapers published in Halifax that has raised any objection to it, and some have come out warmly in its support."

CHAPTER IX

THE NATIONAL EVOLUTION OF CANADA

The national evolution of Canada in its diplomatic position has undergone many important changes during the past thirty years. The Canadian Government in 1879, having appointed Sir A. T. Galt High Commissioner for Canada in London, applied to Her Majesty's Government to have him appointed Commissioner where treaties were being negotiated in which Canada was interested.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, then Secretary of State, in a dispatch to Lord Lorne, said:

"In reply I have to inform you that it is not thought desirable to appoint a Canadian Commissioner to take part in the negotiation of any treaty, but if your Government desire to send a person enjoying their confidence to advise with Her Majesty's Government, or with the British Ambassador, on any questions that may arise during the negotiations, Her Majesty's Government will be happy to give attention to his representations."

Having been appointed to succeed Sir A. T. Galt, I took up the question with Lord Derby, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with the assistance of Lord Fitzmaurice, who was then Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, and of the late Sir C. M. Kennedy, then at the head of the Commercial

Department of that office, I obtained for Canada the right to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign countries. The Foreign Office sent a letter, dated July 26th, 1884, containing the following extract :

" If the Spanish Government are favourably disposed, the full power for these negotiations will be given to Sir Robert Morier and Sir Charles Tupper jointly. The actual negotiations would probably be conducted by Sir Charles Tupper, but the Convention, if concluded, must be signed by both plenipotentiaries."

In 1892-3 I negotiated in this manner, in conjunction with the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, a commercial treaty between France and Canada.

The first and only time that a Canadian representative took a position independent of Great Britain was at the International Congress for the protection of submarine cables held at Paris in 1883. Twenty-five Powers were represented. I attended for the Dominion, and at one session, when an important point was being discussed, I voted against all my British colleagues. The next day Sir Charles Kennedy, one of the British delegates, asked for a reconsideration of the question. This was agreed to, and the British delegation voted as I did, having in the meantime consulted the Foreign Office.

" We were all of the same opinion as yourself at the first discussion, but voted in accordance with the views of Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador," Sir Charles Kennedy remarked to me afterwards.

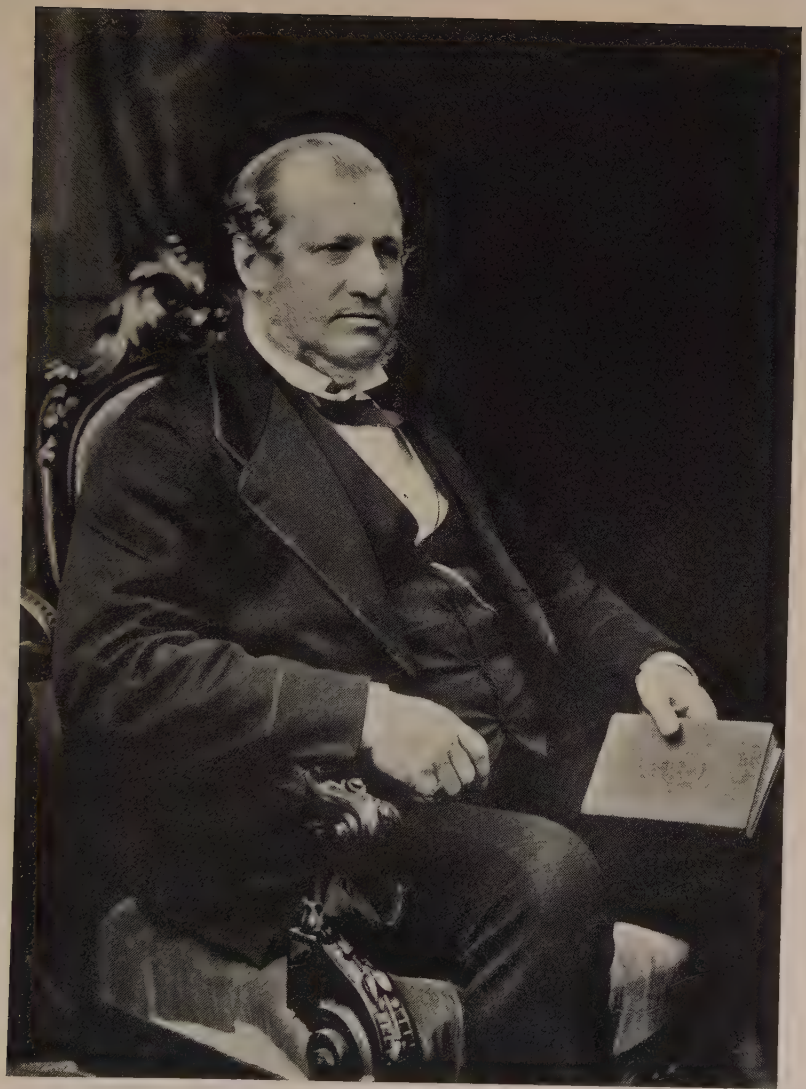
In 1868, as I have already narrated in an

earlier chapter, as a delegate of the Canadian Government I succeeded in inducing the Right Hon. Colonel Stanley, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to concur in the views of the Canadian Government as to the protection of our Atlantic coast fisheries. That was the year following the action of the United States in denouncing the Elgin Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. Our first step was to double the licence for fishing in our waters, and to seize their vessels for violation of the law. This vindication of our rights resulted in the treaty of 1871, which allowed the free entry of our fish into the United States, and provided for an international arbitration.

After hearing the evidence, the arbitrators awarded to Canada about five hundred thousand dollars annually as compensation for the fish caught in Canadian waters by United States fishermen. When, in 1883, this treaty was abrogated by the United States, Canada had no alternative but to protect her rights under the treaty of 1818. The result was a hue and cry throughout the United States. The Republican and Democratic Press joined in denunciation of Canada for its alleged cruelty to their fishermen.

When the Hon. T. F. Bayard was Secretary of State I visited him in 1887 in Washington at his request, to discuss the relations of the two countries. He met me with the frank declaration:

"Well, Sir Charles, the confederation of Canada and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway have brought us face to face with a nation, and we may as well discuss public questions from that point of view."



Photograph by Topley, Ottawa

SIR A. T. GALT

I at once perceived that he, at all events, recognised the fact that those great measures had disposed of the question of our political absorption.

After my return to Ottawa we had the following friendly correspondence, copies of which were given to Sir John A. Macdonald and to Lord Lansdowne, then Governor-General :—

Washington, D.C.,
May 31, 1887.

My dear Sir Charles,—The delay in writing you has been unavoidable. In the very short interview afforded by your visit I referred to the embarrassment arising out of the gradual practical emancipation of Canada from the control of the Mother Country and the consequent assumption by that community of attributes of autonomous and separate sovereignty, not, however, distinct from the Empire of Great Britain. The awkwardness of this imperfectly developed sovereignty is felt most strongly by the United States, which cannot have formal relations with Canada, except directly and as a Colonial dependency of the British Crown, and nothing could better illustrate the embarrassment arising from this amorphous condition of things than by the volumes of correspondence published severally this year relating to the fisheries by the United States, Great Britain, and the Government of the Dominion. The time lost in this circumlocution, although often most regrettable, was the least part of the difficulty, and the indirectness of appeal and reply was the most serious feature, ending, as it did, very unsatisfactorily.

It is evident that the commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of Canada and those of

the United States has grown into too vast proportions to be exposed much longer to this wordy triangular duel, and more direct and responsible methods should be resorted to. Your own able, earnest, and patriotic services in the Government and Parliament of the Dominion are well known and afford ample proof of your comprehension of the resources, rapidly increating interests, and needs of British North America. On the other hand, I believe I am animated by an equal desire to serve my own country; and trust to do it worthily. The immediate difficulty to be settled is found in the treaty of 1818 between the United States and Great Britain, which has been *questio vexata* ever since it was concluded, and to-day is suffered to interfere with and seriously embarrass the good understanding of both countries in the important commercial relations and interests which have come into being since its ratification, and for the adjust- of which it is wholly inadequate, as has been unhappily proved by the events of the past two years. I am confident we both seek to attain a just and permanent settlement; and there is but one way to procure it—and that is by a straightforward treatment on a liberal and statesmanlike plan of the entire commercial relations of the two countries. I say commercial because I do not propose to include, however indirectly or by any intendment, however partial or oblique, the political relations of Canada and the United States, nor to effect the legislative independence of either country.

When you were here I prepared to send my reply to the "observations" upon my proposals for a settlement (of November 15th last), which

were communicated to Mr. Phelps by Lord Salisbury on March 24th, and also to express my views of his lordship's alternative proposition. Your visit and invitation to negotiate here was entirely welcome, and of this I endeavoured to impress you. Conversation with the President has confirmed these views, and now it remains to give them practical effect. Great Britain being the only treaty-making party to deal with the United States, the envoys of the Government alone are authorised to speak in her behalf and create her obligations. I presume you will be personally constituted a plenipotentiary of Great Britain to arrange here with whomsoever may be selected to represent the United States terms of agreement for a *modus vivendi* to meet present emergencies, and also a permanent plan to avoid all future disputes. It appears to me that as matters now stand the Colony of Newfoundland ought to be represented and included, for a single arrangement should suffice to regulate all the joint and several interests involved. I should, therefore, be informed speedily through the proper channel as to the authorisation and appointment by the Imperial Government of such representatives.

The gravity of the present position of affairs between our two countries demands entire frankness. I feel we stand at "the parting of the ways." In one direction I can see a well assured, steady, healthful relationship, devoid of petty jealousies, and filled with the fruits of a prosperity arising out of a friendship cemented by mutual interests, and enduring because based upon justice; on the other, a career of embittered rivalry, staining our long frontier with the hues of hostility, in which victory

means the destruction of an adjacent prosperity without gain to the prevalent party—a mutual, physical, and moral deterioration which ought to be abhorrent to patriots on both sides, and which, I am sure, no two men will exert themselves more to prevent than the parties to this unofficial correspondence.

As an intelligent observer of the current of popular sentiment in the United States, you cannot have failed to note that the disputed interpretation of the treaty of 1818, and the action of the Canadian officials towards American fishing vessels during the past season, has awakened a great deal of feeling. It behoves those who are charged with the safe conduct of the honour and interests of the respective countries by every means in their power sedulously to remove all causes of difference. The roundabout manner in which the correspondence on the fisheries has been necessarily (perhaps) conducted, has brought us into the new fishing season, and the period of possible friction is at hand, and this admonishes us that prompt action is needed.

I am prepared, therefore, to meet the authorised agents of Great Britain at this capital at the earliest possible day, and enter upon negotiations for a settlement of all differences. The magnitude of the interests involved, and the far-reaching and disastrous consequences of any irritating and unfriendly action, will, I trust, present themselves to those in whose jurisdiction the fisheries lie, and cause a wise abstention from vexatious enforcement of disputed powers. Awaiting your reply, I am, very truly yours,

T. F. Bayard.

Sir Charles Tupper, etc.,
Ottawa, Canada.

On June 6th, 1887, I replied "personally and unofficially" to Mr. Bayard as follows:—

Ottawa,
June 6, 1887.

My dear Mr. Bayard,—I had great pleasure in receiving your letter of May 31st, evincing as it does the importance which you attach to an amicable adjustment of the fisheries question and the maintenance of the cordial commercial relations between the United States and Canada, under which such vast and mutually beneficially results have grown up. I entirely concur in your statement that we both seek to attain a just and permanent settlement, and that there is but one way to procure it—and that is by a straightforward treatment, on a liberal and statesmanlike plan, of the entire commercial relations of the two countries. I note particularly your suggestions that as the interests of Canada are so immediately concerned, Her Majesty's Government should be invited to depute a Canadian statesman to negotiate with you a "*modus vivendi* to meet present emergencies, and also a permanent plan to avoid all disputes," and I feel no doubt a negotiation thus undertaken would greatly increase the prospects of a satisfactory solution. I say this, not because I believe that there has been any disposition on the part of the British Government to postpone Canadian interests to its own, or to retard by needless delay a settlement desired by and advantageous to the people of Canada and of the United States, but because I have no doubt that direct personal communications will save valuable time and render each side

better able to comprehend the needs and the position of the other.

I am greatly flattered by your kind personal allusion to myself. The selection of the persons who might be deputed to act as Commissioners would, however, as you are aware, rest with Her Majesty's Government. Our experience has been to the effect that the selection has in most cases, as far as it concerned the choice of the representatives of the Dominion, been made with careful regard to public feeling in this country.

I have thought it my duty and also the most effectual manner of giving effect to your suggestion, to make known to Lord Lansdowne the purport of my correspondence with you. He is strongly desirous of facilitating a settlement, and will at once bring the matter before the Secretary of State, with an expression of his hope that no time will be lost in taking steps for establishing, by means of personal communication with your Government, a *modus vivendi* such as you have described, and also for arriving at an understanding in regard to a lasting adjustment of our commercial relations. In the earnest hope that your proposal for the settlement of this vexed question may result at an early day in a solution satisfactory and beneficial to both countries, I remain, yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

THE HON. T. F. BAYARD, ETC.,
Washington.

Lord Lansdowne in turn communicated with the Colonial Office. The result was an arrangement for a conference at which all outstanding

questions between the two countries, including the Behring Sea seal fisheries, the Alaska boundary line, and the Atlantic fisheries, were to be discussed and, if possible, disposed of. I advised the Imperial Government to select Sir John Macdonald as fellow-plenipotentiary to act with the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. Sir John would not hear of this proposal, and insisted that I should go, so I was appointed one of the joint British plenipotentiaries to negotiate the proposed treaty. My other colleague was Sir Lionel Sackville West, British Minister in Washington.

My first intimation that I was likely to be sent as one of the British Commissioners was conveyed to me in the following letter from Mr. Chamberlain :—

Highbury, Moor Green, Birmingham,
Sept. 4, 1887.

Dear Sir Charles Tupper,—I hear with great pleasure that there is some chance of your being associated with the work of the new Fishery Commission. In any case, I should be very glad of the opportunity of talking the subject over with you, as I know you have given special attention to it. Is there any hope that you could pay me a visit here any time this month? If you could spare the time to run down for any Saturday and Sunday you would give me very great pleasure, and we could quietly discuss the policy to be adopted.—Believe me, yours very truly,

J. Chamberlain.

The Hon. Mr. Bayard, who afterwards served as American Ambassador at the Court of St. James,

Mr. (now Judge) Putnam, of Massachusetts, and Professor Angell, of Michigan, represented the United States.

Our instructions may be gathered from the following letters:

Colonial Office, Downing Street,
September 21, 1887.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—Sir H. Holland wishes you to know that H.M. Government and the U.S. Government have nearly agreed upon the terms of reference on the Fishery Commission which run at present.

To consider and adjust all questions respecting rights of fishery in the seas adjacent to British North America and Newfoundland which are in dispute between the two Governments, and any other questions which may arise in the course of the negotiations and which they may be authorised by their respective Governments to consider and adjust.

I am now asking F.O. concurrence to telegraph to Lord Lansdowne to the above purport.—Yours, etc.

(Signed) JOHN BRAMSTON.

9 *Victoria Chambers, London, S.W.,*
September 22, 1887.

DEAR MR. BRAMSTON,—I received last night your confidential note containing the memorandum on the proposed terms of reference to the Fishery Commission. I cannot but think that it would be very desirable that they should be so framed as to embrace the question of the seal fisheries in Behring's Sea as well as the fisheries on the Atlantic coast. As

the basis of this Commission is to be found in Mr. Bayard's letter to me of the 31st May, I do not see how the United States can object to the inclusion of the question under controversy on the Pacific as well as on the Atlantic Coast. Mr. Bayard proposed that there should be "terms of arrangement for a *modus vivendi* to meet present emergencies, and also a permanent plan to avoid all future disputes." He also said, "I am prepared therefore to meet the authorised agents of Great Britain at this capital at the earliest possible day and enter upon negotiations for a settlement of all differences." He also said: "I am confident we both seek to attain a just and permanent settlement, and there is but one way to procure it, and that is by a straightforward treatment on a liberal and statesmanlike plan of the entire commercial relations of the two countries."

In these circumstances I do not see how the United States can refuse to embrace a consideration of the question in which we complain of the seizure of our vessels in the Behring Sea, as well as a consideration of questions connected with the fisheries on the Atlantic coast. It appears to me to be very desirable that, as stated by Mr. Bayard, the reference should be wide enough to cover all the questions of controversy between the United States and Canada.

As suggested by you, I have in the foregoing reduced to writing the substance of my remarks in the interview with which you favoured me this morning.—Believe me, etc.

(Signed) CHARLES TUPPER.

Foreign Office, October, 1887.

Instructions to Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at the Fishery Conference. Treaty No. 1.

GENTLEMEN,—The Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint you to be Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries to consider and adjust all or any questions relating to the rights of fishery in the seas adjacent to British North America and Newfoundland which are in dispute between the Government of Her Britannic Majesty and that of the U.S.A., and any other question which may arise and which the respective plenipotentiaries may be authorised by their Governments to consider and adjust.

I transmit to you herewith Her Majesty's full power to that effect, and I have to give the following instructions for your guidance.

The main question which you will be called upon to discuss arises in connection with the fisheries prosecuted by the citizens of the United States on the Atlantic shores of British North America and Newfoundland. The correspondence which has already been placed at your disposal will have made you familiar with the historical features of the case up to the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington, and it appears therefore needless at the present moment to recapitulate the various negotiations which have taken place on the subject of these fisheries previously to the year 1871.

I transmit to you herewith a copy of the Treaty of Washington of the 8th May, 1871, from which you will perceive that by the Fishery Articles thereof (Articles 18 to 25, 30, 32, and 33) the Canadian and Newfoundland inshore fisheries on the Atlantic coast and those of the United States, north of the

39th Parallel of north latitude, were thrown reciprocally open, and fish and fish oil were reciprocally admitted duty free.

In accordance with the terms of these Articles the difference in value between the concessions therein made by Great Britain to the United States was assessed by the Halifax Commission at the sum of $5,500,000 for a period of twelve years, the obligatory term for the duration of these Articles.

At the expiration of the stipulated period the United States' Government gave notice of the termination of the Fishery Articles, which consequently ceased to have effect on the 1st of July, 1885; but the Canadian Government being loath to subject the American fishermen to the hardship of a change in the midst of a fishing season, consented to allow them gratuitously to continue to fish inshore and to obtain supplies without reference to any restrictions contained in the Convention of 1818 till the end of the year 1885, on the understanding that a Mixed Commission should be appointed to settle the Fisheries Question and to negotiate for the development and extension of the trade between the United States and British North America.

The proposed Commission not having been constituted, and no settlement having consequently been arrived at, the Convention of the 20th October, 1818, came into force again at the commencement of the year 1886.

Article I. of that Convention is as follows:

> "Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States,

for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, and cure fish on certain coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, it is agreed between the High Contracting Parties that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have, for ever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind, on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland, which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbours, and creeks, from Mount Joly on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belle Isle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson Bay Company: and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty, for ever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland hereabove described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same, or any portion thereof, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portions so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose, with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

"And the United States hereby renounce for ever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof, to take,

dry, or cure fish, on or within three marine miles, of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbours of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, not included within the above mentioned limits; provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbours, for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever. But they shall be under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them."

Under these circumstances, numerous seizures of American fishing vessels have subsequently been effected by the Canadian authorities for infraction of the terms of the Convention and of their municipal law and customs regulations.

The enclosed confidential correspondence will place you in full possession of the various points which have consequently arisen in diplomatic correspondence between the two Governments, and I do not desire to enter upon them in detail in the present instructions, nor to prescribe any particular mode of treating them, it being the wish of Her Majesty's Government that a full and frank discussion of the issue involved may lead to an amicable settlement in such manner as may seem most expedient, and having due regard to the interests and wishes of the British Colonies concerned.

Her Majesty's Government feel confident that the discussions on this behalf will be conducted in

the most friendly and conciliatory spirit in the earnest endeavour to effect a mutually satisfactory arrangement, and to remove any causes of complaint which may exist on either side.

Whilst I have judged it advisable thus in the first place to refer to the questions of the Atlantic coastal fisheries, it is not the wish of Her Majesty's Government that the discussions of the plenipotentiaries should necessarily be confined to that point alone, but full liberty is given to you to enter upon the consideration of any questions which may bear upon the issues involved, and to discuss and treat for any equivalents, whether by means of tariff concessions or otherwise, which the United States' plenipotentiaries may be authorised to consider as a means of settlement.

The question of the seal fisheries in the Behring Seas, the nature of which will be explained in a separate dispatch, has not been specifically included in the terms of reference; but you will understand that if the United States plenipotentiaries should be authorised to discuss that subject, it would come within the terms of the reference, and that you have full power and authority to treat for a settlement of the points involved, in any manner which may seem advisable, whether by a direct discussion at the present conference, or by a reference to a subsequent conference to adjust that particular question.

If the Government of Newfoundland depute an Agent to attend at Washington during the conference, you will avail yourselves of his advice and assistance in any matters concerning Newfoundland, which may arise in the course of the discussions.

(Signed) SALISBURY.

The negotiations occupied several months. We had no sooner got to work than Bayard's attitude underwent a complete change, and the scope of our discussions became greatly restricted. Simultaneously the leading American newspapers attacked me personally, asserting that there was no hope of a treaty being negotiated while I was so exigeant in my demands on behalf of Canada.

No progress was made for weeks, and Mr. Chamberlain and I were negotiating in diplomatic parlance for the best ground to break up on when an idea occurred to me which I lost no time in communicating to my colleague. I advised him to write to Mr. Bayard a letter asking for a private interview at the Bayard home, and then and there to tell the American diplomat of the anxiety of the British Government to negotiate a treaty. I further suggested that my colleague should submit two or three points, stating that if the United States agreed to them he would go down to Ottawa to endeavour to obtain the agreement and consent of the Dominion Government thereto, and thus avert the breaking off of the negotiations.

Mr. Chamberlain had the private interview with Mr. Bayard, who looked on the proposition with favour and who lost no time in obtaining the concurrence of President Cleveland. This disposed of a very unpleasant situation. Negotiations were resumed after the Christmas holidays, and a treaty, settling the dispute over the Atlantic fisheries, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of both countries.

The treaty was sent to the Senate by President Cleveland with the declaration that it was a fair and just settlement of the question, together with

a *modus vivendi* offered by the British plenipotentiaries to provide for the interim pending the ratification of the treaty by Congress and the Dominion House of Commons. The United States Senate having a Republican majority, which was unwilling to give the Democratic party any advantage in the impending presidential election, rejected the treaty. "We cannot allow the Democrats to take credit for settling so important a dispute," a leading Republican senator told me at the time in justifying the attitude taken by his party.

I consider withal that the British won a great diplomatic victory, as the treaty and *modus vivendi* provided that everything that the United States had declared to be theirs by right, under the treaty of 1818, was to be enjoyed for a *quid pro quo*. I returned to Ottawa and carried the treaty through the House of Commons by a unanimous vote, and an Act giving effect to the *modus vivendi* was also passed.

This last mentioned measure, based on the *modus vivendi*, gave American fishermen certain privileges, such as buying bait in Canadian harbours and buying supplies and the transhipment of fish caught outside the three-mile limit. The *modus vivendi*, despite the rejection of the treaty by the United States Senate, served an admirable purpose by removing all feeling and all bickering between the two countries in regard to the Atlantic fisheries.

It was renewed by Canada from year to year, and only became inoperative years afterwards when The Hague tribunal arbitrated the question of the interpretation of the treaty of 1818 and effected a

lasting settlement. Sir A. B. Aylesworth, Minister of Justice in the Laurier administration, represented Canada at the arbitration and afterwards in the House of Commons declared that the basis of settlement of the question was the treaty we negotiated at Washington in 1888. It should also not be forgotten that although defeated in the presidential election, President Cleveland polled 100,000 more votes than his successful opponent, Benjamin Harrison, who, in his subsequent address, declared "the *modus vivendi* had removed all irritation between Canada and the United States."

The British feeling on the matter of the proposed treaty, and the cordial relations that existed between the plenipotentiaries themselves, are represented by the following letters written at the conclusion of the Conference:

Government House, Ottawa,
February 22, 1888.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have been confined to the house by a cold and sore throat, or I should have endeavoured to see you ere now and to congratulate you on your return and on the success of your mission. I was sorry to see that you too had been on the sick list.

The enclosed telegram from Mr. Chamberlain has just come in. Will you give me your opinion as soon as possible? I cannot help thinking that it will be a serious misfortune to us to have the full protocols entirely withheld. We had the best of the argument all through, and some of the speeches of the United States Plenipotentiaries contained very valuable admissions to which it may

hereafter become necessary to refer when questions of interpretation arise, as they are sure to do.

On the other hand, it may be desirable that for the present we should be content with a formal protocol, for the reasons urged by Mr. Bayard. I should, however, be sorry to part with the right of insisting at a later stage upon the production of the fuller record.

You have, I have no doubt, seen the President's message and his construction of the provisions clause. He has not left us long in doubt upon this point.

I shall be at home all the morning in case you should desire to see me.—I am, dear Sir Charles, yours sincerely, LANSDOWNE.

Finance Department, Ottawa, Canada,
February 24th, 1888.

DEAR LORD LANSDOWNE,—I was very sorry to learn that you, like myself, had been suffering from a severe cold. I regret I was unable to answer your kind letter of the 22nd instant in person, and to thank you for your much valued congratulations on the success of my mission. I am still unable to write except by the aid of my private secretary.

Immediately upon the receipt of your letter I requested Sir John Macdonald and the Minister of Justice to see you in regard to Mr. Chamberlain's message, and I explained to them my views in reference thereto. Sir John called to see me yesterday and told me what you had done.

I quite concur with your Lordship in the opinion that it might be well to have the more extended protocols for future reference, but in the meantime

I do not see any serious objection to meeting Mr. Bayard's wishes to have the protocols mainly confined to the proposals and counter-proposals submitted at the Conference.

I shall do myself the honour to wait upon you the moment I feel well enough to go out. In the meanwhile, after most careful consideration of the whole question, I am satisfied that all parties concerned have great reason to be gratified at the termination of this very difficult question.

I must not close this letter without congratulating your Lordship upon your appointment as Viceroy of India, but I cannot avoid expressing at the same time my deep regret that Canada is to lose a Governor-General who has shown so much concern in our welfare and contributed so much in every way to advance our best interests.—I am, etc. (Signed) CHARLES TUPPER.

Government House, Ottawa,
February 26th, 1888.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Only a line to thank you for your very kind letter, and for the congratulations which you are good enough to send me.

I was concerned to hear that you had been unwell, but I confess that I was not surprised to find that the strain of the last few weeks had told upon your health. I have no doubt that with rest you will soon be as well as ever. When you are able to come and have a quiet talk over the Treaty and other matters I shall be delighted to meet you.

The reckless abuse of the Treaty is not an unmixed misfortune; the more I see of it the more

I am impressed with the merits and the dexterity of the arrangement.—I am, dear Sir Charles, yours sincerely, LANSDOWNE.

Ottawa,
March 27th, 1888.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 21st instant with copy of a dispatch from the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, covering a communication from Sir J. Pauncefote with enclosure of a dispatch addressed by Lord Salisbury to Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at the Fishery Conference at Washington, conveying to them the Queen's approval and that of Her Majesty's Government of the manner in which they conducted the negotiations in that capital for the settlement of the Fishery Question on the Atlantic coast of North America.

I am much gratified to learn that the course pursued by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries during the recent Conference at Washington has obtained the gracious approval of the Queen and the recognition of Her Majesty's Government, and I am especially gratified by the kind and flattering reference to my humble efforts on that occasion. I have already informed your Lordship how fully I appreciated the able and judicious manner in which Mr. Chamberlain conducted these negotiations at Washington and the firm support given by both him and Sir Lionel Sackville West to the contentions of Canada.

It is due to Mr. Thompson, the Minister of Justice, who acted as legal adviser to the British

side, to place on record my deep sense of the great assistance which he rendered throughout these negotiations, and to add that we were also much indebted to Mr. Foster, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, whose intimate acquaintance with the subject was of especial value.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant, (Signed) CHARLES TUPPER.

THE MOST HONORABLE
THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE, ETC.

Portland, Maine,
April 18, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Mr. Dickey was kind enough to send me your speech on moving the second reading of the Bill concerning the treaty. I read it with exceeding interest. I think I ought to express to you most earnestly that I think it does you very great credit in all respects.

I notice the opposition apparently received you personally with great kindness, and claimed that you are almost as good as they.

Please accept thanks on behalf of Dr. Angell and myself for the very kind compliments which you paid us.—Very truly yours,

(Signed) WILLIAM L. PUTNAM.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

Ann Arbor,
April 28, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have just received and read with deep interest your speech on the treaty.

You presented the case with great cogency and

clearness, and with a genuine spirit towards us which we heartily appreciate.

I fear the prospects of the treaty in our Senate are by no means flattering. It is a most inopportune moment to submit it, but I believe with you that even if not ratified, it will not be useless. The negotiations have helped beget a spirit which will tend to avert immediate conflict, and will prepare the way for a future settlement.

May I beg you to send me a copy of your Budget Speech, which I see you have just delivered? I am glad to infer from your delivery of these speeches that you have quite regained your health. I found myself excessively fatigued on getting home, more so than I had realised in Washington. I fancy you were also.

Mrs. Angell begs to be remembered to you, and we both desire to send our most cordial regards to Lady Tupper.—Yours very truly,

JAMES B. ANGELL.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER,
MINISTER OF FINANCE, ETC. ETC.

Washington,
February 18, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—In parting from you after our protracted labours I cannot refrain from expressing to you the great pleasure I have had in the harmonious and cordial relations that have existed between us throughout. It is impossible for personal intercourse to be more friendly and more satisfactory than ours has been.

I congratulate you most heartily on the result of our labours, which is so largely due to your

knowledge, tact, and firmness. In my opinion, you have done enormous service to Canada and Great Britain.

If the treaty be adopted it will remove the long-standing causes of irritation between the Dominion and the United States, and pave the way for more complete intercourse of all kinds.

It will give to Canada, unquestioned for the future, a territorial jurisdiction greatly in excess of that which she has in practice enforced.

It will secure her undoubted rights in the valuable inshore fisheries for the protection of which she will now be entitled to the co-operation of the United States.

In addition, the treaty recognises in the fullest way the right of Canada to prevent her ports from being used as a basis of operations for the deep-sea fisheries, unless and until a fair equivalent is given for the privilege.

On the other hand, the concessions made in the shape of possibilities and conveniences to United States fishermen do not greatly exceed what has already been voluntarily accorded by the last published negotiations by the Canadian Government.

The treaty, as a whole, is a fair and honourable settlement of the controversy, and I for one am proud to have been permitted to take part in the negotiations.

In a private letter just received from Mr. Bayard he encloses a suggestion which I enclose for your consideration and that of your Government.

It appears to me that it would be a great stroke of policy for the Canadian Government spontaneously to offer to withdraw all pending proceed-

ings, provided such withdrawal were not construed as an admission of any claim for damages.

Such action would be an effective evidence of the conciliatory spirit of the Canadian Government, and indirectly it would also be a proof that they were well satisfied with the arrangements made, and accepted them as disposing of every cause for unfriendly feeling.

Hoping we may soon meet again, and with great respect and regards,—Believe me, yours very truly,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Ottawa,
February 28th, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN,—In consequence of a severe cold taken on my return to Canada, I have been unable, until this moment, to reply to your kind letter of the 18th instant, received just as I was leaving Washington.

I thank you very much for the warm tones in which you refer to the cordial relations which existed between us during our protracted labours at Washington, and I quite agree with you in the opinion that we have much reason to congratulate ourselves and those we represented upon the result of our efforts. You must allow me to say that the opinion I formed after meeting you at Birmingham, that no better selection could have been made by Her Majesty for the high and responsible position you occupied, was strengthened day by day as I witnessed the ability, tact, and firmness with which you met and overcame the all but insurmountable obstacles we encountered, and if we should succeed in the Senate in preserving

the Treaty from rejection, it will be largely due to your success by personal intercourse in conciliating and removing the prejudices of its members.

For obvious reasons the friends of the Treaty do not say much about it, but the time is not distant when the great services you rendered to Canada and the Empire will be fully recognised and freely expressed.

I enclose a copy of my statement to the inevitable reporter when I reached Montreal. I also send a copy of the Governor-General's speech in opening Parliament.

We will obtain the support of all our friends in the House of Commons and of leading members of the Opposition. I will do all I can to prevent *too* strong approval until the question has been dealt with by the Senate at Washington. We have readily adopted your suggestion to propose abandoning proceedings in the Courts, providing such action is not to be held as forming a claim for damages. I requested Lord Lansdowne to telegraph my concurrence in the proposal to have very little in the protocols except the proposals and counter-proposals on each side. I fear it will not be possible for me to be present at the dinner to be given by the Canadian Club, but I know our case will be safe in your hands, and that the opportunity to help the Treaty in the U.S. Senate will not be lost.—With best wishes and hoping ere long to have the pleasure of meeting you again, I remain, with the utmost respect and esteem, yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Highbury, Moor Green, Birmingham,
April 2, 1888.

My dear Sir Charles,—It is a pleasure to me to inform you that, acting on my suggestions, Lord Salisbury has recommended the Queen to confer upon you the honour of a baronetcy in recognition of your great service in connection with our recent mission, and that Her Majesty has approved the recommendation.

I am very glad to be the first to congratulate you on this well deserved distinction, and to express once more the gratification I have had in all our official and personal relations.

With kind regards to Lady Tupper and yourself,—Believe me, yours very truly,

J. Chamberlain.

The official letter which Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, wrote to me, showed that the Imperial Government were not surprised at the conclusion of the matter.

London,
August 24, 1888.

Dear Sir Charles,—I have great pleasure in being authorised to inform you that the Queen has been pleased to confer upon you the honour of a baronetcy in token of her appreciation of the good service you rendered to her and to the Empire at the recent Conference at Washington. The value of that service will not be affected in the end by the untoward conclusion to which the discussion of the present Senate at Washington has come.—Believe me, yours very truly,

Salisbury.

Sir Charles Tupper.

The relations between the United States and Canada prior to the negotiations at Washington were greatly strained, as may be gathered from the speech I made in moving the adoption of the treaty in the House of Commons on April 10th, 1888, which is reprinted at the end of this volume.

CHAPTER X

MY LATER CAMPAIGNS

In 1887, while acting as High Commissioner, I was recalled to Canada to take up the post of Minister of Finance, the great feature of my budget being the iron and steel policy, introduced with a view of establishing the industry on a solid basis. It did not succeed just then because the iron and steel industry throughout the world at the time was in a depressed condition. However, I always remained a consistent supporter of that policy, and have lived to see its beneficent effects, as evidenced by the great industries now established at Sydney, Cape Breton, and at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. When my son, Sir Charles Hibbert, visited the "Soo" some years ago, the manager in showing him over the works, remarked, "We owe all this to your father's initiative. He was the real founder of the iron and steel industry."

I am of opinion that the Conservative Party has not been given its full share of credit for taking the first steps to establish the iron and steel industry in the Dominion. I was the first Minister of Finance to attempt it. Events proved that my legislation was premature, as the price of iron and its products fell nearly fifty per cent. in England during the next few years. But my policy was reintroduced and adopted by the Liberal Govern-

ment years afterwards with my hearty support and concurrence.

As far back as 1887 the following letter will show that I was advocating the claims of the industry :

Office of the High Commissioner for Canada,
August 4th, 1887.

My dear Sir John,—I duly received your letter of July 18th. I quite agree with you that a great deal was done in the last session to promote the interests of Nova Scotia, but if by agreeing to construct a branch of ten miles of railway we can secure, not only the expenditure of over a million in the development of a great iron industry, but also secure a very valuable traffic for the I.C.R. I think it would be wise to do it. Mr. Bartlett's proposal is one which I am satisfied the G.T.R. or C.P.R., or any other railway would gladly accept ; but as it is a purely business proposition the Railway Dept. are well able to estimate its merits. Of course, I am anxious to make Nova Scotia as prosperous as possible, and thus, especially at the time when commercial union with the U.S. is being agitated, remove all cause of discontent with our present condition ; but I do not wish to press my views unduly upon my colleagues, especially after the kind consideration that you have all given them.

I am afraid you are giving yourself no rest, and still hope that you will take a run over here, if only for the voyage. We were fortunate in Digby under the circumstances, and still more so in Renfrew. I took your hint *re* Courtney, and

will be glad to have him with me on those tough financial questions. I have seen the Spanish Minister and made the postponement of our negotiations all right. I still think you should *advertise* for a *proper* Atlantic service, whatever you may ultimately decide upon. The P.M.G. says the tenders were half a million; you say a million and a half.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

When leader of the Opposition in 1896, I paid a visit to Sydney, my constituency, the site of a struggling iron industry. A deputation composed of the City Council and Board of Trade waited on me, and asked me to assist them in getting the industry firmly established. In reply I dwelt upon the possibilities of its development, showing that the economic conditions were favourable. Messrs. H. M. Whitney and Graham Fraser, who were interested in the project, informed me that the Government had refused to pay a bounty, and invited me to go to England to raise the capital for the establishment of a large plant. In reply I told them that I had a better plan, and stated that I would interview the Government and pledge the support of the Opposition to any policy it might adopt for the purpose of assisting that industry.

I afterwards visited St. John, formally to open the exhibition, and during my stay there I met the Hon. Mr. Fielding, Minister of Finance, and the Hon. William Patterson, Minister of Customs in the Liberal Government. To them I submitted reasons why the iron and steel industry was deserv-

ing of Government aid in the way of bounties, and made a formal offer of the support of the Conservative Opposition to any policy that might be introduced in Parliament. They both agreed to reconsider the question.

Later, when I learned that they had taken favourable action, I remarked, at Ottawa, in the presence of the Hon. Mr. Borden: "I am glad to hear it. I would rather remain in Opposition than be guilty of refusing my support to the bounty system."

When they were boasting what wonders it would accomplish I told them in Parliament that they had taken too much credit to themselves, and reminded them of the Opposition support I had pledged. Fielding replied that he had never refused aid to the industry, so it remains a question of fact. However, Mr. Graham Fraser later wrote Mr. Whitney, reiterating what both had told me, that the Government had previously refused to grant any aid to the industry.

Well, I plunged into the campaign of 1887 just after the Hon. W. S. Fielding had carried Nova Scotia for Commercial Union, which was then the chief plank of the Liberals. In the face of his victory we not only won fifteen out of twenty-one seats in that province, but again obtained a renewal of the confidence of the American people. Fielding's policy, if carried out, would have resulted in the disruption of Confederation.

After the session of 1887–8, in which the Fisheries Treaty was dealt with, I announced my intention of returning to London. Sir John urged me to stay, but I persisted in my refusal, telling

him that he had a good majority, and that I could render Canada better service as High Commissioner. Just about this time Sir George Stephen, president of the C.P.R., representing vast interests, called on me and declared that it was my duty to remain in Canada; that if anything happened to Sir John I ought to be chosen as his successor. He communicated these views in a letter addressed to the Hon. John Henry Pope, Minister of Railways, who gave the letter to Sir John A. Macdonald. Mr. Pope had always been a warm personal friend of mine. On my earlier visits to London, while still holding my portfolio of railways during the building of the C.P.R., he always looked after my department.

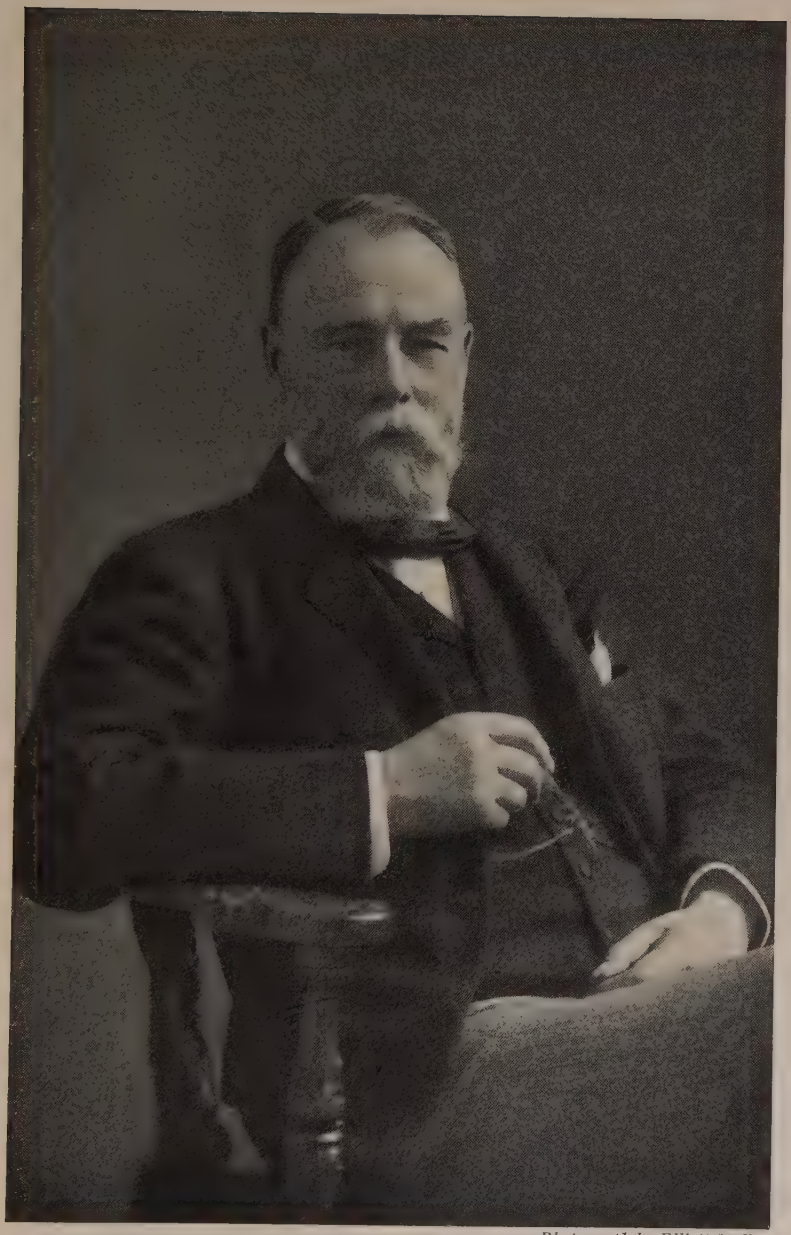
The Premier sent for me the next day.

"If you will only consent to remain," urged Sir John in showing me Sir George Stephen's letter, "I will publicly recognise you as my successor."

"But you have already made pledges to Sir Hector Langevin. When you were in difficulties over the execution of Louis Riel, you told Langevin that he would be your successor if he succeeded in retaining the support of the French-Canadian Conservatives."

I further told him that the emergency justified his action, and that it was a wise proposition; that nothing could be said against Langevin as a public man, and that the old system in vogue in the days of the united provinces of having an English-speaking man and a Frenchman alternately in the Premiership had worked well.

"If you will only agree to stay," persisted Sir John, "I will send for Langevin and the rest of



Photograph by Elliott & Fry

LORD MOUNT STEPHEN

my Cabinet, and designate you as my successor. Langevin, I am sure, will be agreeable."

I was firm in my refusal. "The true policy," I repeated, "is to carry out your pledge to Sir Hector. The arrangement before Confederation between Cartier and yourself about alternating in the Premiership worked well. It will still work well, and will make a favourable impression in the province of Quebec."

"Well," argued Sir John, "if you insist on returning to England I want you to give me Charlie," referring to my son, Charles Hibbert, who, as member for Pictou, had sat continuously in the House since 1882. I naturally consented, and have never had any regrets over that decision. My son was sworn in shortly afterwards as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, gave Sir John loyal support and served in successive Conservative administrations until our defeat in 1896. His last portfolio was that of Minister of Justice.

In 1890 the fishery question again caused some anxious hours in both countries. On June 28th of that year Lord Knutsford sent for me, and told me that Lord Salisbury had received a message from Sir Julian Pauncefote, Ambassador at Washington, saying that Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, had informed him that the Government had sent their cruisers to Behring Sea with instructions to seize any vessels sealing there. The Americans had seized several Canadian vessels some years before, and when called to account by Great Britain, said they claimed Behring Sea as a *mare clausum*, that they were willing to leave that question to an international tribunal, and in the meantime

would make no seizures until that question was decided, to which Great Britain agreed. Some delay occurred in arranging that Commission, and they then determined to seize. Lord Knutsford, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies, told me that he had in vain endeavoured to get Lord Salisbury to take prompt action, as the Premier said, the thing having been done, it would involve war with the United States, which was too terrible to contemplate, and that all that he, Knutsford, was to obtain was a promise that he would not answer Pauncefote's message until he had seen me. I went immediately to the Foreign Office, and saw the Under Secretary of State (Sanderson), as Lord Salisbury was not there, with whom I discussed the subject. I told him that I was satisfied the United States would not go to war on a question that every diplomat in the world would feel they were wrong upon, and concluded by saying " tell Lord Salisbury from me that if, under existing circumstances, prompt action is not taken, Canada can only come to the conclusion that the British flag is not strong enough to protect her."

The result was Sir Julian Pauncefote was instructed to say to Mr. Blaine that if the British flag was interfered with the United States must be prepared for the consequences. The message was no sooner delivered to Mr. Blaine than the fastest ships on the Pacific Coast were directed by telegraph to overhaul the cruisers and withdraw the instructions.

The matter of arbitration was arranged in due time, and my son served as British Agent on the Commission which sat in Paris in 1893, and in

recognition of his public services was knighted by Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

In April of 1894 I was dining at Sir Robert Meade's with Lord Knutsford, who said that he had dined the previous evening with Lord Harman, Sir Charles Russell, and Sir Richard Webster. He told me that "they raved about your son," and said that during the arbitration at Paris no difficulty arose upon which he was unable to tell them everything that was known on the subject.

My son's entry into public life was unpremeditated, having been brought about by an accidental circumstance. In the early stages of the campaign in 1882 there was a factional fight in Pictou among the Conservatives owing to rival claims for the party candidature. While the deadlock was in progress they consulted my son from Halifax to see if he could effect a friendly settlement of the schism in the party. Neither man would give way to the other, but both agreed to accept Charles Hibbert Tupper as a compromise candidate. He was elected, and in his first session had the honour of being invited by Sir John to move the adoption of the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne.

When my son sat down after his first speech in the house, the Hon. Edward Blake, the Opposition leader, crossed the floor to the Ministerial side and, grasping my hand, remarked with unusual warmth: "Permit me to congratulate you upon your son's brilliant effort. In all my parliamentary career I never heard an opening address delivered with equal ability. Please introduce me, for I wish to tender my congratulations."

The seventh and last election campaign I waged in 1891, under the leadership of Sir John A. Macdonald, was in many respects the most bitter contest ever fought between the two political parties. The issues were sharply defined. The chief plank in the Liberal platform was the advocacy of a policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, a modification, at least in name, of the policy of commercial union espoused by the Opposition in the campaign of 1887.

I was then still holding the office of High Commissioner in London, but at the earnest solicitation of Sir J. A. Macdonald I determined to respond to his call for assistance in the elections. Feeling, as I did, that the policy of the Liberal party could but lead to the union of Canada with the United States, I felt perfectly justified in taking this course.

I sailed on the *Teutonic* on January 28th with Duncan MacIntyre and Sir Donald Smith as fellow passengers. The former was a strong Liberal, but I commenced the campaign by persuading him to support Sir Donald at the forthcoming election—which he did—as we decided that British Institutions were imperilled.

I arrived at Ottawa on February 6th, and found the following letter from Sir John Macdonald awaiting me:

Earnscliffe, Ottawa,
Feb. 6th, '91.

My dear Sir Charles,—Welcome! There is a meeting at Kingston — my constituency — to organise and nominate me. I have made so many appointments for to-morrow that I must not leave town. It is asking you a great deal, but I

know your good nature. Will you go up to-morrow morning; you arrive about four? If you can't manage it, will you ask Charlie to go?—Always yours, J. A. McD.

I went off to Kingston and proposed Sir John's candidature, and he was subsequently returned by the largest majority he had ever received.

The Conservatives went to the country pledged to a continuance of the National Policy, and to the preservation of British connection, which they maintained would be jeopardised by a Liberal victory.

"A British subject I was born; a British subject I will die," was the Conservative campaign slogan. I addressed a great meeting at Halifax on February 14th, and left for Toronto the same evening at the earnest request of Sir John Macdonald. There I spoke to a huge meeting on the 17th, and at another in London, Ontario, on the 20th. After a great meeting at Windsor on the 23rd, I left for Nova Scotia, breaking the journey to speak at Quebec. Then followed a strenuous time in Cumberland, where I represented the Hon. Arthur Dickey, who was ill. And all this in a winter of exceptional severity. The campaign ended in a victory for the Conservatives.

The Hon. Edward Blake, alarmed at the dangers of the Radical policy advocated by his friends, refused to run, but was unwillingly persuaded not to publish his reasons until after the election. This he did in the London *Times*, in which he avowed his refusal on the ground that the policy of unrestricted reciprocity would end in the political absorption of Canada by the United States.

Before I returned to England after the election, I was informed by Sir Adolphe Caron, Minister of Militia, that Mr. J. Israel Tarte, M.P., a Government supporter and well-known journalist, had secured evidence of corruption against Sir Hector Langevin, and that Tarte was determined to prefer charges in Parliament. I at once sent for Mr. Tarte, who informed me of his intention to drive Langevin from public life. He convinced me that he could do so.

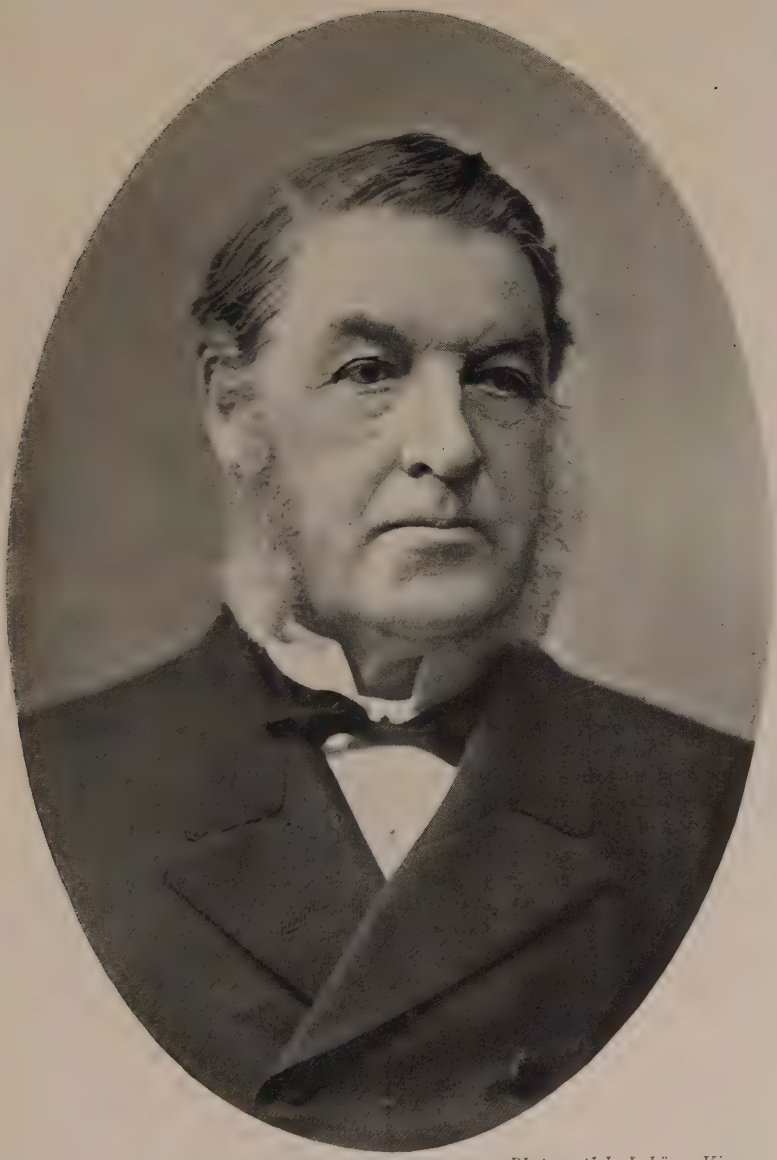
"You have carried the election, but there are rocks ahead," I told Sir John Macdonald. Without a moment's delay I gave him my information about Tarte's resolve.

To Tarte I said: "Would you object to Langevin's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec?"

"I am agreeable to that arrangement," he replied.

I then saw Sir John again, who had broken down physically under the strain of the recent campaign. He looked ill and worried. When I suggested Langevin's transfer to Government House at Quebec, Sir John replied: "How can I do that when Langevin denies the charges?" I then went into conference with Sir Hector, who protested his innocence.

The charges were not preferred in Parliament until after I had reached England. The end of the affair was that Sir Hector was forced out of the Cabinet. Tarte established his charges of corruption and "graft" in connection with the Larkin-Connelly contracts for the Quebec Harbour improvements. Tarte went over to the Opposition and did



Photograph by J. Löwy, Vienna

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART. (1891)

effective work in bringing Sir Wilfrid Laurier into power. He was awarded a portfolio and reached high rank in party councils. In justice to Sir Hector's memory it should be said that no act of corruption was brought home to him, but there was maladministration in his department by his subordinates. He was more sinned against than sinning.

Sir John Macdonald did not long survive the great party victory. Less than four months later, before the Langevin investigation had begun, he was stricken with paralysis, and died at Ottawa early in June, 1891. That his death was hastened by dissensions among his French-Canadian followers is regarded as highly probable.

It was while I was acting as a delegate at an International Postal Congress in Vienna that I received a cable advising me of the sad news of his fatal illness. We had dined with the Emperor at the Hofburg Palace and were afterwards to have attended with the Royal Party at the theatre, but on receipt of a cable from my son announcing Sir John's hopeless condition I was able to refuse the invitation.

The political situation in Ottawa after the Premier's demise was tense. The Liberals looked to see the Government driven from power before the end of the session, as a result of the impending inquiry into the Tarte charges. On the part of the Conservatives prompt action in choosing Sir John's successor was regarded as imperative. The exigencies of the hour required it. Sir John Abbott, leader of the Government in the Senate, was invited by the Governor-General, Lord Stanley of

Preston, to form a new administration. It was well understood at the time that this was only to be a temporary arrangement. He did so, and his successors during the next four years were Sir John Thompson and Sir Mackenzie Bowell.

The day after Sir John's death I received a cablegram from the Conservatives at Kingston, his old constituency, offering me the nomination, and assuring me of a large majority. My son, Charles Hibbert, also cabled me that a certain number of Government supporters in the House favoured the selection of Sir John Thompson for the office of Prime Minister. The moment I got this intelligence I sent a reply telling him that nothing in the world would induce me to accept the honour if tendered me, and that I would not stand in Thompson's way, as I had been responsible for getting Thompson to leave the bench to join the Government. To my friends in Kingston I also cabled declining the nomination with thanks.

On December 12th, 1894, I received an invitation from Her Majesty the Queen to dine and sleep at Windsor Castle, but was shocked to hear at 5 P.M. that Sir John Thompson had died at the Castle. The dinner, of course, was postponed, but the Queen requested me to proceed to Windsor at once, and the next morning had a long interview with me and desired that I would so arrange that the body should not be moved until 11 o'clock, as she wished to lay a wreath on the coffin.

The body was subsequently taken to Canada on H.M.S. *Blenheim*, and but for the interposition of my doctor, who peremptorily forbade it, I should have made the voyage across with it.

CHAPTER XI

THE FAST STEAMER SERVICE AND PACIFIC CABLE CRUSADE

THREE other important matters in which I took active interest were the establishment of the present Empress Line steamship service between Vancouver and the Orient, the securing of a fast Atlantic service, and the attempt to arrange for an "all-British" Pacific cable.

Shortly after the completion of the C.P.R. I went to Lord Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and told him that Canada had built the C.P.R. without the assistance of the British Government, and that under the circumstances I felt that we were entitled to an Imperial subsidy for a mail service across the Pacific. I asked him for an annual subsidy of £45,000, pointing out that Canada had agreed to contribute £15,000 a year for the same object.

The matter remained in abeyance during my first visit to Canada, and I entrusted the negotiations in my absence to Sir John Rose. He was unsuccessful, and on returning to England I again took up the matter.

"You have convinced me, but it would be impossible to get the House of Commons to make the grant," was the reply of Lord Goschen to my appeal. He was mistaken, however, for the C.P.R.

obtained the mail subsidy, and in the debate the only objections raised were, that the grant was too small, and that a more frequent service should have been provided for.

Years afterward, I took up, with Mr. Chamberlain, the question of the establishment of a fast Atlantic steamship service, also expressing my views thereon at an address before the Royal Colonial Institute, with Lord Lorne in the chair. I induced Mr. Chamberlain to agree to an annual subsidy of £75,000 a year for a period of ten years.

The following correspondence will show the difficulties that cropped up during these negotiations for the Atlantic service and the Pacific cable:

Victoria Chambers,
17 Victoria Street, London, S.W.,
31st July, 1895.

SIR,—As you suggested at the interview which you were good enough to grant me yesterday, I now place in writing the representations I then ventured to make personally, in regard to the proposed fast steam service between Canada and the United Kingdom.

1. As you are aware, the Canadian Parliament, as long ago as 1889, passed an Act granting a subsidy of £100,000 per annum for a period of years, to assist in the establishment of a fast Atlantic service. The Government subsequently agreed, subject to legislative sanction, to increase the subsidy to £150,000 per annum; but their efforts up to last year were not attended with any

measure of success, although at one time the negotiations that were in progress appeared likely to have a satisfactory termination.

2. Last year, as you are aware, an important conference was held at Ottawa, at which all the leading colonies, as well as the United Kingdom, were represented. Among other questions discussed at considerable length was that of improved communication between different parts of the Empire, including the fast Atlantic service, and the following resolutions were passed:

(1) That the conference expresses its cordial approval of the successful efforts put forth by Canada and New South Wales for the establishment of a regular monthly steamship service between Vancouver and Sydney. And affirms the advisability of a reasonable co-operation of all the colonies in securing the improvement and permanence of the same.

(2) That the conference learns with interest of the steps now being taken by Canada to secure a first-class mail passenger service, with all the modern appliances for storage and carrying of perishable goods across the Atlantic to Great Britain, and the large subsidy which she has offered to procure its establishment.

(3) And it regards such an uninterrupted through line of swift and superior communication between Australasia and Great Britain as is above contemplated as of paramount importance to the develop-

ment of Intercolonial trade and communication, and to the unity and stability of the Empire as a whole.

(4) That as the Imperial Post Office contributes towards the cost of the mail service between England and Australia, via Brindisi or Naples, the sum of £95,000 per annum, while the sea postage amounts only to £3,000, and to the mail service between Vancouver and Japan and China £45,000, less £7,300 charged against the Admiralty, this conference deems it but reasonable respectfully to ask that assistance be given by the Imperial Government to the proposed fast Atlantic and Pacific service, more particularly as the British Post Office, whilst paying the large subsidy of £104,231 a year to the line from Liverpool to New York, has so far rendered no assistance to the maintenance of a direct postal line between Great Britain and Canada.

3. Prior to the conference, the Canadian Government entered into a provisional contract with Mr. James Huddart, for the new Atlantic service, and the Dominion Parliament, after the conference had finished its labours, passed an Act authorising the subsidy of $750,000 per annum for ten years for the proposed service. It will require four steamships, of a tonnage of 10,000 tons or upwards, capable of maintaining a speed of 20 knots per hour at sea, and in size, equipment, speed and design

they will be fully equal to vessels like the well-known *Majestic* and *Teutonic*. As you will gather from the Blue Book which I enclose, containing the correspondence between the Government and Mr. Huddart, it has all along been understood that assistance would be required from Her Majesty's Government to supplement the subsidy that has been given by Canada ; and this will also be apparent to you on perusing the proceedings of the Ottawa Conference, and Lord Jersey's report thereupon. In this connection I may mention also that the time originally specified for the completion of the contract had been extended by the Canadian Government in order to enable Mr. Huddart to obtain the decision of Her Majesty's Government.

4. In March, 1894, immediately after the contract was made, I was requested by the Canadian Government to render any possible assistance to Mr. Huddart by bringing the matter to the notice of the Imperial Government. As the consequence, there were several consultations between my colleagues, the Agents-General of the Australasian and South African Colonies, and myself, in regard to this and other matters of importance to the various colonies. We (excepting the Agents-General for South Australia and Western Australia) waited upon your predecessor by appointment on the 4th April, 1894, accompanied by Sir Thomas McIlwraith, a member of the Queensland Government, and the Hon. Robert Reid, a member of the Victorian Government, and were received by Lord Ripon and the Earl of Rosebery, the then Premier. Our representations were promised the

careful attention of the Government, and a promise was made that Her Majesty's Government would be represented at the then forthcoming Ottawa Conference. A newspaper report of the proceedings on that occasion is enclosed.

5. I attach for your information a copy of a paper I read before the Royal Colonial Institute in May, 1894, in which I referred to the matter.

6. The Earl of Jersey, in his report upon the conference, has dealt so fully with the fast Atlantic service, and has expressed so strongly the arguments in favour of the proposal, that I need only, at this point, recall his communication to your attention.

7. When the service is established, it will enable passengers and the mails to be conveyed to Canada, as well as to the United States, in less time than is at present occupied, this result being rendered possible by the advantage Canada possesses in her geographical position, in conjunction with the railway facilities that exist for rapid transportation to all parts of the Continent from the port of debarkation.

8. Although, as already mentioned, the efforts of the Canadian Government have not yet been successful in bringing the proposed fast service into operation on the Atlantic, considerable attention has, in the meantime, been devoted to the improvement of the means of communication, under the British flag, on the Pacific. After the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which, although an Imperial highway in the highest sense of the term, was constructed by Canada without any aid from the Imperial exchequer, the Canadian

Government, in conjunction with Her Majesty's Government, subsidised a fast steamship service between Vancouver, Japan and China, by which a considerable saving of time in transit has been effected, and a new and alternative route opened up.

9. A subsidy of £25,000 per annum is also being paid by Canada towards the service of steamers which is now plying regularly between Vancouver and Australasia. New South Wales contributes £10,000 per annum, and, as you will notice from the *Times* to-day, the New Zealand Government intend to subsidise the service to the extent of £20,000 per annum, in consideration of the steamer calling at a New Zealand port. Fiji also gives a small subsidy of £1,500 per annum.

10. I have mentioned these facts to show what Canada is doing to create new and important steamship services to China and Japan, and to Australasia from this country via Canada, the new highways and alternative routes being rendered possible by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and to justify the application that has been made for a subsidy from the Imperial Government of £75,000 per annum, without which it would not be possible to complete the lines of communication in the way that is desired—especially so far as the Atlantic portion of the service is concerned.

11. The belief is entertained that the assistance of Her Majesty's Government will be the more readily granted in view of the fact that the steamers will be built under Admiralty supervision, and will thus be eligible for the subvention that is now granted

by the Admiralty to vessels of the kind. In addition, the vessels, from the fact of their speed and from the shortening of the time of their transit, would inevitably secure a considerable amount of extra postage on letters that are now forwarded by other routes; and, altogether, it is held to be more than a probable contingency that the entire subsidy asked for might be made available from the two sources that have been mentioned.

12. The belief is confidently entertained also, that if Her Majesty's Government come to the assistance of the scheme, and a satisfactory Atlantic service is established, it will induce the Governments of Australasia to come forward with substantial aid to enable the Pacific portion of the service to be made more frequent and more effectual than it is at present. It should be mentioned, however, that while the Atlantic and the Pacific services form parts of the new route, they are regarded at present as being more or less separate in regard to their organisation; but, at the same time, there is little doubt that the provision of a fast Atlantic service would very soon lead to the completion of the Pacific service on the basis originally proposed.

13. I feel that I need say no more to commend the proposal to your favourable consideration. Canada has shown the importance that it attaches to the service by the contribution that has been promised, in addition to the aid already given to the Japan, China and Australasian lines. The proceedings of the Ottawa Conference demonstrate the high importance with which the new route is

regarded in the different parts of the Empire, and the report of the Earl of Jersey is convincing as to the advantages that must follow from its establishment, viewed either from the commercial or political standpoint. In my judgment it is bound to have results of a very satisfactory nature, not only in adding to the strength of the Empire, but in developing its trade and commerce.

In view of all these considerations, I venture to hope that the proposition I have submitted to you may be regarded favourably by Her Majesty's Government, and that it may have the benefit of your powerful support.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Sgd.) CHARLES TUPPER.

THE RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

Colonial Office, Downing Street,
11th November, 1895.

SIR,—A proposal was recently made that a deputation of the Agents-General for the Australasian Colonies and the High Commissioner for Canada should wait upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies with the view of discussing the question of the Pacific cable; but it was arranged at the beginning of September that, having regard to the meeting of Parliament and the consequent pressure of business, the interview should be deferred to a more convenient season.

Since then the position of the matter has been materially affected by the grant by the Hawaiian

Government to Colonel L. S. Spalding, subject to certain conditions, of an exclusive franchise for twenty years to lay cables for commercial purposes. It is reported that Colonel Spalding, on obtaining this concession, entered into negotiations having for their object the continuance to Honolulu of the cable laid by a French association between New Caledonia and Queensland. If the whole project thus contemplated is carried through, San Francisco, or some other point in the United States territory, will be placed in direct communication with Australasia, and it need hardly be observed that in that case the position of the British project from the financial point of view would be very prejudicially affected.

It seems, therefore, to Mr. Chamberlain to be highly desirable that no further time should be lost in considering the subject, and that some open step should be taken which will disabuse foreign promoters of the idea that no competition is to be feared from a British line, as recommended last year by the Ottawa Conference.

For this purpose Mr. Chamberlain would suggest that the proposed interview should take place at an early date this month.

If it then appears that there is a sufficient body of opinion in favour of considering the terms on which united action could be taken, Mr. Chamberlain would be glad to co-operate in the appointment of a joint commission, or to lend his assistance in any other way which may seem best.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Sgd.) John Bramston.

Colonial Office,
November 13th, 1895.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—I am desired by Mr. Chamberlain to say that Tuesday, November 19th, at 12.30 will suit him to see you and your colleagues on the cable question, if that day and hour are convenient to the Agents-General.

I write at once, without waiting for your proposed visit at 5 p.m. this afternoon, as you may probably wish to make early arrangements for the interview.—Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) H. F. WILSON.

17 *Victoria Street, London, S.W.,*
15th November, 1895.

SIR,—Acting under your instructions to give Mr. Huddart all possible assistance with the Imperial Government in regard to the fast Atlantic Service, I took an opportunity immediately on the return of Mr. Chamberlain to office after the elections on July 30th last, to call upon him at the Colonial Office, when I was able to go fully into the questions of the Fast Atlantic Service and Pacific Cable from Vancouver to Australasia.

He seemed much interested in these questions, and at his request I addressed him a letter, dated 31st July, especially with reference to the Fast Atlantic Service, of which I sent you a copy. Mr. Chamberlain wrote me a note in reply stating that he would take the subject up promptly, and hoped on his return to London after his holidays to be able to make substantial progress.

I received a short letter from him, dated "Granada, October 31st," in which he says:

"Before I left I put forward the matters of the Fast Atlantic Service and the Pacific Cable. As soon as I return I must have a conference with you on these and other points, and I know that I can count at all times on your cordial co-operation in all that concerns the joint interests of the Colonies and the Mother Country."

I had the pleasure of sitting next to Mr. Chamberlain at a dinner given by the Agent-General for Natal on the 6th instant, and in response to the invitation of Mr. Peace, I proposed the toast of the evening, which was, "The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies." I took occasion to point out the great opportunity for statesmanship presented at the present moment in connection with the expansion of Greater Britain, and the satisfaction with which I and all my colleagues in London had welcomed his advent to the Colonial Office, in the full belief that under the auspices of the Right Honourable gentleman the colonies would reap the advantage of possessing a strong Minister of a strong Government. I enclose herewith an outline of a report of my speech, as well as of Mr. Chamberlain's reply.

On the 13th instant Mr. Chamberlain favoured me with a long interview at the Colonial Office, when he gave me an assurance that Her Majesty's Government had decided to take up the question of the Fast Atlantic Service, and also to deal vigorously with the prosecution of the Pacific Cable project, at the same time requesting me to invite the Agents-General to wait upon him in regard to the latter question on Tuesday next. He inti-

mated that he would be quite prepared to appoint a Commission as suggested by the Governments of Canada, Victoria, New South Wales, New Zealand and Queensland.

You will also find enclosed a copy of an official communication, dated 11th instant, from the Colonial Office upon the subject.

In reference to the Fast Atlantic Service, Mr. Chamberlain said that Her Majesty's Government recognised its importance and were prepared to comply with the request to aid the undertaking by a substantial subsidy; and when I pressed him upon the point of the amount, said that if necessary, the £75,000 asked from the Imperial Government for ten years might be relied upon. He added that it would be absolutely necessary under these altered conditions that new tenders should be called for. When I drew his attention to the fact that a precedent had been established by Mr. Goschen, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in granting a subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company at the request of the Canadian Government, had not considered it necessary that tenders should be asked, he replied that that was an entirely different case, and that the grant of a subsidy to a great corporation like the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, so vitally interested in and necessary to the success of the undertaking, took the question out of the usual category altogether. He also intimated that if this application were of the same character it would not be necessary to invite tenders. Finding that he was fixed upon this point I did not think it judicious to press it further.

In reply to my inquiry as to the mode of invit-

ing tenders, Mr. Chamberlain agreed with me in the opinion that the character of the service would be clearly stated, and tenderers invited to state the amount of subsidy for which they would be willing to undertake it, Canada and Her Majesty's Government providing the subsidy in relative proportions of £150,000 and £75,000.

Mr. Huddart was, of course, greatly disappointed when I told him of the conclusion at which Mr. Chamberlain had arrived in reference to inviting new tenders. I pointed out to him, however, that he would be in a position to secure the co-operation of capitalists and shipbuilding firms upon the basis of a subsidy of £225,000 per annum, and that I had no reason to think that for a service based upon the standard of the *Teutonic* and *Majestic* anyone was likely to underbid him.

I may mention that Mr. Chamberlain stated that while Her Majesty's Government would be quite satisfied with vessels of equal speed to the *Teutonic* and *Majestic*, any proposals for ships of less speed would not be considered.

Yesterday I met accidentally Mr. Benham, the able and trusted representative of the Barrow Naval Construction Company, who built the steamers now running between Vancouver and China and Japan. I had previously introduced Mr. Huddart to Mr. Benham, in order that he might secure the co-operation of that firm. I told Mr. Benham confidentially that Her Majesty's Government had decided to give, if necessary, £75,000 per annum to secure the Fast Atlantic Service, and asked him if he would be ready to co-operate with Mr. Huddart on that basis.

Mr. Benham told me he would consult with his firm, but that he felt confident they had come to the conclusion that no subsidy would render the Fast Atlantic Service a complete success unless the Canadian Pacific Railway Company were identified with it in the closest and most effective manner; that were that the case, he felt sure they would be ready to join and give the heartiest possible co-operation in every way to carry out the service. Mr. Benham has gone to Barrow-in-Furness for the purpose of confidentially consulting his firm, and has promised to let me know the best they can do.

While it is necessary to secure a speed quite equal to that of the *Teutonic* and *Majestic*, Mr. Benham does not think it will be requisite that the vessels should have the cargo-carrying capacity so great, as they would be mainly useful in carrying mails and passengers at great speed, besides having ample provision for cold-storage for fish, meat, dairy products, poultry, fruit, etc.

I will communicate to you immediately any information I obtain on Mr. Benham's return on this subject.

Deeply impressed with the necessity of obtaining the effective co-operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, for the purpose of inspiring the confidence of capitalists as to its success, and the obvious advantage of having a through service from here to China and Japan by one company, I cabled you, after seeing Mr. Benham, as follows:

"Confidential. Long interview with Colonial Minister last night. Imperial Government will

support Fast Atlantic Service to extent £75,000, vessels similar *Teutonic*, but will require Canadian Government invite new tenders. Agents-General and self meet Colonial Minister Tuesday *re* cable. Have no doubt Government will support proposal and appoint Commission at once arrange details. Pending declaration policy of Imperial Government, think it inadvisable show Fleming's letter October 11th Agents-General. Will advise you result meeting. Shall I come out consult you about these matters? Think could render you material assistance. Do not make contents of this message public until further advised."

I received, a short time ago, a letter from Mr. Parmelee, covering copy of one from Mr. Sandford Fleming in regard to the cable, and asking me to communicate it to the Agents-General. I took the responsibility of withholding it until after the meeting between the Colonial Minister and the Agents-General, as I felt sure that the new proposals for the division of the financial responsibility between the Imperial Government and the Colonies would have a very disturbing effect, without doing any good. The Agents-General have no power to do anything effective in the question of this kind, except as advised by their respective Governments, and a division of opinion which probably would have arisen among them would have militated against the action which we have all been authorised to ask for from the Imperial Government in the appointment of a Commission.

I have, as you know, always resisted Mr. Fleming's proposals to have the bulk of the cost of a Pacific cable thrown upon the colonies, as I have

never entertained a doubt that, whenever Canada and the Australasian Colonies agreed to make a substantial contribution towards the construction of the cable, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to assume a very large amount of direct responsibility; and the proposal now made by Mr. Fleming that they should only grant a loan sufficient to cover the excess of expenditure by the Fanning Island route over that of the Neckar Island route, and that the interest on that loan should be charged on the surplus earnings, would probably fall far short of the assistance which the Imperial Government will be prepared to grant.

Of course, if the Government do not agree with me in this matter I will at once place Mr. Fleming's letter before the Agents-General, although, as I have stated before, I do not see how that can in any way advance the object in view.

I need not add how greatly I am gratified that our long-continued exertions have secured so favourable a result in reference to both these important questions, and I felt it my duty, under the circumstances, to communicate to you my readiness to go out to confer with you in regard to them, in the belief that I might be able to assist your deliberations, and that we might confidently anticipate the complete success of our efforts.

I need not assure you that I have given the most loyal support possible to Mr. Huddart since I was instructed to do so by your predecessor and yourself, and regret that anything should occur to interfere with his interests; but, of course, the

vitally important question is to ensure the complete success of this service and make it accomplish for Canada all that we have hoped. I am forced, therefore, reluctantly to the conclusion that to accomplish that object it will be necessary to devise some means by which a combination may be effected between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

The great difficulty which the company experienced arose, I believe, from the fear that from the time of undertaking this enterprise until it could go into operation, their interest might be severely jeopardised by the parties at present engaged with the Steamship communication between this country and Canada. Would it not be possible for the Government to intervene directly and assume the liability for the construction of the ships and have a contract, if necessary secret, between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, to take the work over and become responsible for its ownership and management as soon as the service was ready to go into operation?

Of course I should be very glad if, in connection with any such change, it were found possible to utilise the services of Mr. Huddart, and promote his interests, but, of course, that is a matter entirely secondary and subsidiary to the great object of making this important work a thorough success.—In the hope that means may be found to accomplish for Canada all that we have had in view, I am, etc.,

(Sgd.) Charles Tupper.

The Hon. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, K.C.M.G.

17 Victoria Street, London, S.W.,
19th November, 1895.

My dear Sir Mackenzie Bowell,—The meeting between the Agents-General and myself and Mr. Chamberlain took place to-day as before advised.

I stated to Mr. Chamberlain that my colleagues and myself were very much gratified at the prompt manner in which he had responded to our request that he would receive us in connection with the question of the Pacific cable, and I had invited the Agents-General of all the colonies to attend, including the representatives of the Cape and Natal, which colonies, although not directly interested, were warmly in favour of the project; that all were present except those representing South and Western Australia, who, for reasons with which he was already acquainted, did not propose to assist.

I then read the following letter which I had received from Mr. Playford, Agent-General for South Australia:

"In reply to yours of the 13th instant, I beg to say that I have written to Mr. Chamberlain, in answer to his of the 11th, informing him that my Government have by cable advised me that they are not in favour of the appointment of a Commission to consider the Pacific cable question.

"Under the circumstances I feel it would be out of place for me to attend a deputation the object of which my Government cannot support."

I also drew attention to the following statement made by Mr. Playford at the Ottawa Conference:

"I told the Conference that if this line was required for public and Imperial purposes our Government will never in any way stand in the way. I am giving not only my own opinion, but the opinion of my own Government, and, I believe, of the majority of the people of South Australia. If the work is done at all it should be done as a Government work."

I said that the Agents-General for Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and New Zealand and myself had all been instructed by our respective Governments to urge upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies the appointment of a Commission on which the Imperial Government, Australasia and Canada should be represented for the purpose of considering and reporting upon the best means to be adopted to secure the prompt construction of a cable between Canada and Australasia; that I might call his attention to the fact that my colleagues and myself have pressed, in the strongest manner, upon the consideration of his predecessor, the Marquis of Ripon, and upon Lord Rosebery, the great importance in connection with this work, of Her Majesty's Government promptly taking possession of Neckar Island; that Neckar Island was in the same category as other islands which had been taken possession of by Her Majesty's Government in recent years without any remonstrance on the part of the Hawaiian Government; and we had further pointed out that as soon as it became known that we were seriously contemplating the construction of a cable between Canada and Australasia, no doubt that island would be taken possession of by some other Power.

What we had feared had taken place, and the Hawaiian Government had formally taken possession of Neckar Island, clearly showing that they had not previously done so, and with the unfortunate result that at least half a million pounds sterling had been added to the necessary expenditure for the construction of the cable by the greater distance to Fanning Island, which would now be required to be used in order to attain the important object of having the cable only touching British territory.

Mr. Chamberlain expressed his great interest in the subject, and felt that prompt action was demanded by the movements on the part of foreign countries, whose action would seriously affect the support that the cable would otherwise receive. He stated his readiness promptly to appoint a Commission, and suggested that it should consist of six members—two to be nominated by the Imperial Government, two by Australasia, and two by Canada.

He intimated the desirability of having two representatives of the Imperial Government, as he wished both the Colonial Office and the Treasury to be represented on the Commission.

He also expressed great satisfaction at the result of the tenders asked for by the Canadian Government having elicited the fact that the contemplated expenditure would not materially exceed a million and a half, and he could not doubt that the returns from such an enterprise would to a very large extent cover the expenditure that would be involved.

After some general conversation respecting the

terms of reference to the Commission, he said that these would be submitted to us in the course of a day or two. It was agreed that we should immediately inform our respective Governments what had been decided upon, and he would communicate in like manner with the governors of the various colonies concerned.

When discussing the terms of reference Sir Westby Perceval, the Agent-General for New Zealand, suggested the question of compensation to South Australia and the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company might arise, but Mr. Chamberlain immediately replied that it would be as well to state at once that Her Majesty's Government would not listen to the question of compensation from any source whatever.

After the meeting the Agents-General adjourned to my office, where we settled on the terms of the cable communication to our Governments as follows:

"*Re* Pacific cable. Colonial Minister at interview to-day with representatives of all colonies except South and West Australia agreed to appoint Commission, but suggested six—two to be nominated by Imperial Government, two Australasia, and two Canada. Terms of reference will follow shortly."

Enclosed you will find the communique that was handed to the Press by the Colonial Office.

I feel sure you will agree with me that under the existing circumstances no good object could be gained by communicating Mr. Fleming's letter of October 11th to the Agents-General or to the Colonial Office, and I think we may all congratulate ourselves of having advanced this matter in

such a material degree as I have no doubt will result in promptly securing the establishment of this invaluable line of communication.

I beg to quote the telegram dispatched yesterday by the Agent-General for New South Wales to the Premier of that colony:

"High Commissioner for Canada and Agents-General for the Australasian colonies, except South Australia and Western Australia, had interview with Secretary of State for the Colonies to-day relating to Pacific cable. Mr. Chamberlain agreed to appoint a Commission as requested by colonies. Great Britain, Canada, and Australasian colonies each to nominate two commissioners—that is to say, six in all. Repeat this joint telegram to other Colonial Governments, including New Zealand, and communicate here names of colonies' nominees. Prompt action desirable. Terms of reference will be forwarded to you to-morrow, will include full inquiry into all details."—I am, etc.,

(Sgd.) CHARLES TUPPER.

THE HON. SIR MACKENZIE BOWELL, K.C.M.G., ETC.

DEAR MR. IVES,—I duly received your two cable messages of the 21st instant, as follows:

(1) "Confidential. Urgent. Impress upon Chamberlain undesirable fixing as standard any named vessel. Canada Government willing to agree upon vessels of tonnage, speed and general appointment as *Teutonic*, but perhaps built on different lines, taking advantage improvement construction if found desirable to insure better service."

(2) "Shall I make specifications, or will Imperial authorities?"

To-day I sent you the following telegram in reply:

"Steamship service. See my letter 15th to Premier. Speed not to be less than *Teutonic*, but all other conditions left to Canadian Government, who are to prepare specifications and invite tenders. Cable me general terms specification for approval Colonial Office before tenders invited. Writing you more fully to-day's mail."

As I promised in my letter to Sir Mackenzie Bowell, I enclose you herewith a specification suggested by the Naval Armaments Company of a vessel which they consider would be the best for the service, and which could be built for £350,000, together with a memorandum showing how this vessel compared with the *Teutonic* and *Parisian*.

The dispatch from the Colonial Office to the Governor-General of the 21st instant—which was mailed last Thursday—will have reached you ere this. You will see by it that, while it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to state, in the absence of tenders, what amount they will give, Mr. Chamberlain had decided to contribute the £75,000 if the tenders should show that that sum is required.

I will also send you to-day a letter from Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who was invited by Mr. Benham to go to Barrow with him for consultation with the Naval Armaments Company upon this subject. Mr. Reynolds was closely associated with the late Mr. Bryce Douglas in the former negotiations, and Mr. Benham has requested him to give me the result of the consultation with Mr. Adamson, the manager of the firm.

I think it desirable to give you, as promptly as possible, all the information I can bearing upon this subject as, if the service is to go into operation on the opening of the St. Lawrence navigation two years hence, no time must be lost in getting in the tenders in response to the invitation of the Canadian Government.

I am confirmed in the opinion that the success of this measure depends upon obtaining the closest co-operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Without the responsibility of the management and the results being thrown upon that Company in such a way as to secure the most complete co-operation, notwithstanding the large subsidy proposed, it would, I believe, be very difficult to obtain the necessary capital unless the Government itself became responsible, and I do not see how that could be done safely unless the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was committed in the fullest manner to secure the success of the steamship line.

I hope you will be able to cable me the general terms of the specification as soon as possible in order that Mr. Chamberlain's approval—which is essential—may be obtained without delay, and the tenders invited at an early day.

Be good enough to inform the Premier that before the receipt of his cable of the 18th instant I had informed Mr. Huddart of the determination at which Her Majesty's Government had arrived in this matter. Believe me, yours faithfully,

[(Sgd.) CHARLES TUPPER.

THE HON. THE MINISTER OF TRADE AND COMMERCE,
OTTAWA, CANADA.

SPECIFICATION OF PROPOSED VESSELS.

Four steamers built under Admiralty supervision for use as fast cruisers, the material, workmanship, and finish of cabins and general outfit of these vessels and their machinery to be equal to any first-class Atlantic steamer afloat. The principal dimensions of the vessels: Length, 500 feet; beam, 57 feet; depth moulded, 40 feet; load draft, 27 feet; on which they would carry 5,000 tons dead weight. Engines, twin-screw, triple expansion; diameter of cylinders, 41 inches, 66 inches, 106 inches, by 60 inches stroke. Supplied with steam by ordinary cylindrical boilers capable of developing about 17,000 I.H.P., which would give a 21-knot speed on six hours' trial, or 20 knots across the Atlantic when loaded. Passenger accommodation: 300 first class, 120 second class, 900 steerage.

For your information I give you about the relative sizes, etc. of the *Teutonic*, the steamers proposed in this letter for the fast Atlantic service to Canada, and the *Parisian*:—

Teutonic: 565·5 feet long, by 57 feet 8 inches beam, by 39 feet 2 inches depth moulded; twin screws; diameter of cylinders, 43 inches, 68 inches, 100 inches, by 60 inches stroke. Tonnage: gross, 9,984; net, 4,269.

Proposed steamer for fast Atlantic service: 500 feet long, by 57 feet beam, by 40 feet depth moulded; twin screws; diameter of cylinders, 41 inches, 66 inches, 106 inches, by 60 inches stroke. Tonnage: gross, 8,500; net, 4,000.

Parisian: 440·8 feet long, by 46 feet 2 inches

beam, by 25 feet 2 inches depth moulded; single screw; diameter of cylinders, 60 inches, 85 inches, by 60 inches stroke. Tonnage: gross, 5,508; net, 3,265.

Then I came to Canada to arrange the details with Sir Mackenzie Bowell, at that time Prime Minister of the Dominion, and when leader in the House of Commons I submitted a resolution authorising the Government to subscribe £150,000 annually towards a 20-knot service, and to enter into a contract, subject to the approval of Parliament. The resolution was adopted.

Then I awarded a contract to the Allans, of Glasgow, but Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General, in defiance of constitutional procedure, withheld his assent, despite the fact that Parliament was to meet three weeks later. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier attained power his Government refused to ratify the contract, and made several unsuccessful attempts afterwards to carry out the same policy. In view of the rapid development of Canada in recent years, I am to-day heartily in favour of the establishment of a 22-knot service, which I hope to see shortly accomplished.

CHAPTER XII

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

WHILE the confederation of British North America in 1867 was sustained by both parties in England, there is reason to believe that many public men of both parties regarded it as a stepping-stone to getting rid of any responsibility connected with Canada. Now, after the lapse of years, it is very gratifying to know that at this moment an overwhelming change has taken place in the sentiments of their successors, and the time has come when all parties in Great Britain recognise the vital importance of maintaining the solidarity of the Empire.

I confess I cannot understand the recent difficulties encountered by the Unionist party in England in relation to the taxes on food. In my opinion the question was effectually disposed of by the proposal to limit the impost on foreign food-stuffs to two shillings a quarter. All the statistics available at Mark Lane established beyond controversy that no such impost on flour and wheat, while giving a preference to the Dominions and tending to stimulate settlement of agricultural areas and increase the production of bread-stuffs, would ever adversely affect the price of bread in Great Britain.

This preference would be of inestimable advan-

tage to Canada in one other respect. I mean that it would remove any annexationist sentiment that might linger in the minds of the thousands of Americans who are pouring into Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

While it is impossible to say what the political result may be, when at no distant day the population of Canada is going to exceed that of the Mother Country, the movement toward the complete solidification of Great Britain and the great outlying Dominions will steadily increase. Looking at the climatic conditions, resources, and the geographical situation of Canada, I cannot but think that the future will show that the men of the north will be the dominating power on the American continent.

Coal is a great factor in national greatness. Unlike our neighbours, we have inexhaustible areas of it, not only on the Atlantic and Pacific, but inland in the western provinces, from the boundary line to the shores of the Arctic. We likewise have an abundance of natural gas and a wide distribution of the precious metals, with vast regions scarcely prospected.

In her fisheries Canada has also an unrivalled asset. We have a wheat-growing area which is being steadily extended north to the Mackenzie River basin, and a fertile soil adapted to the production of all other kinds of cereals and grains, as well as boundless forests. Our natural resources, in a relative sense, have scarcely been touched. Profiting by the experience of older nations, I am glad to see that conservation methods are being adopted.

Our water-powers are unsurpassed. They are being harnessed to operate our factories, street cars and railway systems, and in due time will drive all our industrial machinery.

The consolidation of the Empire on the basis of mutual preferential trade is coming sooner than most people imagine. A good start has already been made, and Canada will share in all those advantages.

The history of the movement is not uninteresting.

In 1879 a delegation, consisting of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Leonard Tilley, Minister of Customs, and myself, then Minister of Railways, visited England. On that occasion we submitted a proposition to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which concluded in these words: "The Government of Canada is prepared under arrangements with the Imperial Government, and with the assent of the Canadian Parliament, to give distinct trade advantages to Great Britain as against foreign countries, and they sought to do so in their arrangement of the present tariff to a limited extent; but, believing that the Imperial Government were not favourable to direct discriminating duties, the object in view was sought and obtained through a somewhat complex classification of imports."

The policy of Canada against British manufactures is not, therefore, such as to exclude them from our markets, but points to an arrangement that, if adopted, might give us sufficient for revenue purposes, and at the same time be of infinite advantage to the Empire.

When the late Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, the founder of the Imperial Federation League, called upon me to discuss the question of Imperial Federation in 1884, I told him that the most careful consideration I had been able to give to the subject led me to the conclusion that the means of drawing the Mother Country and the colonies more closely together for all time would have to be found in such fiscal arrangements as I was satisfied could be made, by which the outlying portions of the Empire would be treated by that great country on a different footing from foreign countries. His reply was: "Well, I am a Free Trader, but I am not so fanatical a Free Trader that I should not be perfectly willing to adopt such a policy as that for the great and important work of binding this great Empire together."

On January 19, 1888, Mr. Alexander McNeill, M.P. for North Bruce, made an eloquent speech in favour of a discriminatory tariff throughout the British Empire, and on February 1 the Toronto branch of the Imperial Federation League was organised.

In 1889 I was invited to express my opinion at the annual dinner of the Imperial Federation League, of which I was not a member. In my speech I said: "I am afraid that you will not be able to maintain public interest in the league much longer unless you propound some practical policy for promoting the union of the Empire, which is your avowed object. I therefore venture to suggest that a conference may be called by the Imperial Government of representatives of the self-govern-

ing colonies to consider the best means of promoting the object, and I am inclined to the opinion that when a conference takes place it will be found that the adoption of a policy of mutual preferential trade between Great Britain and her colonies would provide the tie of mutual self-interest in addition to the purely sentimental bond which now exists."

I became a member of the league, and Lord Rosebery—who was then President—consulted with the Prime Minister on the subject. I may say that my suggestion in favour of preferential trade between Great Britain and the colonies met with unfriendly criticism in an unexpected quarter, as will be seen by the following correspondence :

Les Rochers, St. Patrick, Riviere du Loup,
August 14, 1889.

My dear Tupper,—Your speech on Federation has excited much attention in Canada and a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec.

The manner in which it has been treated by the English Press generally, which will insist that you have spoken the opinions of the Canadian Government, and as if by its authority, has aroused the suspicions of the French, and makes me look forward to some unpleasant discussions in our Parliament. The Opposition will oppose, of course, and they will attempt to make cause with the French, and may carry a vote against (1) Imperial Federation, and (2) a conference as proposed by you. It would be well, I think, for you to let it be known as widely as possible that you spoke your

own opinions, and not in any way as High Commissioner.—Yours faithfully,

J. A. Macdonald.

To this I replied as follows:

9 *Victoria Chambers,*
London, S.W.,
Sept. 13, 1889.

My dear Sir John A. Macdonald,—I have been much surprised to learn that my action in regard to Imperial Federation has excited a good deal of dissatisfaction in Quebec. I send you herewith a detailed report of all the proceedings in this connection, and am satisfied that, after reading of what has taken place, you will agree with me that my action has been quite misunderstood by our Quebec friends. You are aware of the fact that, although you and two other members of the Government are on the council of the Imperial Federation League, I have stood somewhat aloof. I have not disguised the opinion that the difficulties in the way of a parliamentary federation were insuperable.

When I proposed that a conference should be invited to consider the practicability of adopting a fiscal policy by which Colonial products would be protected here against those coming from foreign countries, I only propounded a policy which I had avowed as the policy of our party when in opposition, and which you and Sir Leonard Tilley and myself subsequently formulated and submitted to the Colonial Minister. As I said in my speech, I expected it would have the hearty

support of every well-wisher of Canada, involving as it did a policy that would rapidly bring millions of capital and hundreds of thousands of agriculturists to make Canada blossom as a rose. Had I made this proposition on behalf of Canada I would have had some ground for doing so, but I did not. At the special meeting of the council, as you will see by the reference to the appendix in this letter, I said, "I do not in any way represent the Government of Canada, but simply express my own views and opinions with regard to this question."

Lord Rosebery emphasised that statement by saying at the same meeting: "Sir Charles Tupper expressly disclaims speaking in an official capacity, or as a representative of the Canadian Government." I do not see how I can well do more to counteract the erroneous impression that I spoke in an official capacity, but I will not fail to take any suitable opportunity of relieving you and your colleagues of any share of the responsibility of my utterances. When I made this bold proposal to strengthen the tie that connects Canada with the Crown by taxing corn and cattle from the United States of America and all other foreign countries—for such in effect it was—I had little idea that it would be received with such favour here and be so completely misunderstood in Canada. It not only involves no change in the constitution of our country, but substitutes an alternative that ought certainly to commend itself to all who are opposed to such a change.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

To this letter Sir John Macdonald replied as follows:

Ottawa,
Sept. 28, 1889.

My dear Tupper,—I have your semi-official letter of the 13th inst. With respect to the Imperial Federation matter, you have taken the matter too much *au sérieux*. I thought it well to write, as Langevin became nervous, not so much by the remarks made in the Opposition papers here as by the quotations from the English Press, which were widely disseminated by the Opposition. These English papers expressly stated that although you declared that you did not speak for the Canadian Government, you would not have spoken unless from instructions. The Quebecers here have got it into their heads that your proposal that a general conference should be held involved the discussion of the expediency of altering the British North America Act. This, though unfounded, caused some alarm. I have read your letter in council, and discussed the whole question, and I think we shall not hear anything more about it.—Yours faithfully,

John A. Macdonald.

In reply to a deputation of the Imperial Federation League in June, 1891, Lord Salisbury said: "I think we are almost come to the time when schemes should be proposed. You have stated a problem. . . . I might almost call it an enigma. We are to invite the colonies to share in the responsibilities and privileges of the Empire in such a manner as not to disturb the constitution of this country, or that which is enjoyed by the colonies.

The solution of this problem does not lie on the face of it; it will require the labour of many able brains before a satisfactory solution is arrived at. The matter is one, not for vague and uncommitting sentiment, but for hard thinking and close examination, and for the utmost effort that the highest and strongest intellect of our times can give to a problem in which the Empire is concerned."

It was in these circumstances that at a large meeting of the Imperial Federation League, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on June 17, 1891, I made this motion, which was unanimously adopted: "That a certain carefully selected committee be appointed to submit to the council a scheme for the consideration of the organisations of the league throughout the Empire, by which the objects of Imperial Federation may be realised."

I took up the question of the Belgian and German treaties with my colleagues representing in Britain the various self-governing colonies, and we sent the following communication to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

"*London*,
"*Nov.* 20, 1890.

"My Lord,—We desire to thank your Lordship for the intimation conveyed us in Mr. Bramston's letter of the 10th inst., that the committee appointed to consider the approaching expiry, etc. of various European commercial treaties have expressed their concurrence in the view that the colonies should have the opportunity of stating their views respecting the effect of the various European treaties.

"In accordance with your Lordship's request we take the opportunity of stating, for the information of the committee, that we are all of the opinion that the treaties with Belgium and Germany of 1862 and 1865 respectively should be terminated as soon as possible, in order that Great Britain may be in the position of being able at any time to make closer commercial arrangements with the colonies, or any of them, without being subject to the restrictions that are contained in those treaties. We venture to think that the importance of the matter is one that cannot be overrated, whether regarded from the Colonial standpoint or from that of Great Britain.

"We consider, also, that the principle should now be formally conceded by Her Majesty's Government—which has been accepted in many cases in recent years—that no commercial treaty should in future be binding upon the colonies without their assent, but that every such treaty should contain a clause enabling the colonies to participate in its provisions, or not, as they may desire."

The movement we thus launched did not obtain its objects until 1897.

In the meantime Colonel Sir Howard Vincent, M.P., had founded the United Empire Trade League in conjunction with the Rt. Hon. James Lowther, M.P., which worked energetically and indefatigably in favour of the development of trade between all parts of the British Empire upon a mutually advantageous basis. In 1889 a conference was held at Ottawa, where representatives from Australia and South Africa met the

Government of Canada at their invitation, and at which the Imperial Government was represented by the Earl of Jersey. At this conference a resolution was carried in favour of mutual preferential trade.

Immediately after assuming the office of Prime Minister, in 1896, I delivered an address before the Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce at Montreal in favour of preferential trade, and made that policy a principal feature of my appeal to the country. The *Toronto Globe*, the organ of the Liberal party, came out in strong opposition to the preferential trade policy, but it aroused great enthusiasm in Ontario, and the leader of the Opposition—now Sir Wilfrid Laurier—finding the "heather on fire," declared to the electors at London, Ontario, that he was as strongly in favour of that policy as myself, and pledged himself to do all in his power to carry it out; so it ceased to be an issue.

After my defeat in 1896, Sir Wilfrid and his majority, who had for eighteen years bitterly opposed our protective policy—knowing that they could not retain power if they did anything to weaken the protection of Canadian industries—enacted a clause giving reduction to any country whose tariff was as favourable to Canada as that of Canada to them. They maintained that such a reduction would only apply to Great Britain, but they found, as I told them in Parliament, that, owing to the Belgian and German treaties, England could not enjoy the proposed reduction while several other countries could.

When the Conference of 1897 took place Mr.

Chamberlain said that if the Premiers of all the colonies joined in asking the denunciation of those treaties it would be done. They passed a unanimous resolution, and the treaties in question were denounced. Canada then enacted a reduction in favour of Great Britain *eo nomine*. Subsequently, when Sir Michael Hicks-Beach re-enacted the Registration Duties, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Hon. Mr. Fielding informed the Imperial Government that if these and any similar duties were remitted to Canada they would increase the preference, and if this were not done they would consider themselves at liberty to withdraw the preference already given. Unfortunately, the Hon. Mr. Ritchie, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, abolished these duties, although they had given the Treasury over £2,500,000 without increasing the price of bread.

On May 16, 1903, Mr. Chamberlain made a speech strongly favouring preferential treatment of the colonies, and a year later that distinguished and patriotic statesman resigned his high office and consecrated his unrivalled talents to the promotion of Tariff Reform and the consolidation of the Empire by preferential trade.

CHAPTER XIII

EMPIRE CONFEDERATION

In 1891 I published in *The Nineteenth Century* an article entitled, "Federating the Empire: A Colonial Plan," and in the same review in the following year an article on "How to Federate the Empire," and I feel I cannot do better than reprint these papers here, which I am enabled to do by courtesy of the Editor and publishers of *The Nineteenth Century and After:*

Federating the Empire: A Colonial Plan*

The great change which has taken place in the public mind in recent years upon the importance to the Empire of maintaining the Colonial connection found expression at a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel in July, 1884, under the guidance of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, who occupied the chair. At that meeting—which was attended by a large number of Members of Parliament of both parties, and representatives of the colonies—it was moved by the Rt. Hon. W. H. Smith: "That, in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire, some form of federation is essential." That resolution was seconded by the Earl of Rosebery, and passed unanimously. In November of the same year the Imperial Federa-

* *The Nineteenth Century*, October, 1891.

tion League was formed to carry out the objects of that resolution; and the subject has received considerable attention since, both here and in the colonies. At the annual dinner of the Imperial Federation League two years ago, I ventured to suggest that it would be difficult to maintain public interest in the question much longer, unless some steps were taken to arrive at a practical scheme by which the objects aimed at might be attained, and proposed that a conference should be called by Her Majesty's Government of delegates from the colonies to discuss the matter with them. I added: "I will throw out one more suggestion, though perhaps I shall be in advance of public opinion in this respect. I believe that if such a Convention were summoned, and this question were taken up as a practical question, and examined with a view to the adoption of such measures as would give vitality to the principle of Imperial Federation, a solution would be found in bringing to bear that most potent of all influences, the principle of self-interest; and that it would be seen to be perfectly practicable to adopt a fiscal policy in regard to this country and the colonies, by which each part of the Empire would materially strengthen the other, renewed vitality be given to the powerful link of affection that now binds us together, and a new tie developed by which the colonies would vastly increase the power and influence of Great Britain, and Great Britain, on the other hand, become of far greater importance to her colonies." My proposal was adopted by the council of the league, and the President approached the Prime Minister upon the subject. Lord Salisbury saw difficulties in

the way, and, before any further progress was made, an important circumstance arose bearing very strongly upon this question of Imperial Federation, and that was, the determination on the part of the Australasian provinces to take up promptly the federation of those great colonies. Lord Rosebery, with the assent of the council of the league, then made an announcement at the Mansion House that the league proposed to defer pressing the question of a conference pending the local federation discussions. The determination subsequently arrived at to again revive the proposal for a conference was the result of a discussion which took place when I was absent in Canada. The Prime Minister of this country has been again approached, and I cannot hesitate to say that the result of the two deputations—one of the Imperial Federation League, and the other of the United Empire Trade League—has, in my opinion, given a most important impetus to the cause of Imperial Federation. The suggestion of the Prime Minister to the deputation of the Imperial Federation League, that a scheme should be formulated, appeared to me to involve the duty of endeavouring to meet that proposal. We had to deal with the fact that the Imperial Government, when approached with reference to this measure, called distinctly upon the league to direct their attention to the formulation of some practical proposition by which the objects of the league might be reached. His Lordship said: "I think that we are almost come to the time when schemes should be proposed, and that without them we shall not get very far. You have stated a problem to us to-night

—I may almost call it an enigma. If I remember the words, we are to invite the colonies to share in the responsibilities and privileges of the Empire in such a manner as not to disturb the Constitution of this country, or that which is enjoyed by the colonies. Well, I think that at all events the solution of this problem does not lie upon the face of it, and that it will require the labour of many able brains before a satisfactory solution is arrived at." In response to that invitation, at a meeting of the council of the Imperial Federation League, the following resolution, moved by myself, and seconded by Sir F. Young, was passed unanimously:

"That a carefully selected committee be appointed to submit to the council definite proposals for the consideration of the organisations of the league throughout the Empire, by which the objects of Imperial Federation may be realised."

I venture to think that the enigma suggested by the Premier is capable of solution, and that measures may be devised by which, without conflicting with the self-government enjoyed by the colonies, the great objects of Imperial Federation may be attained. As showing the very advanced position in which this movement, in my opinion, is placed by the statements of the Prime Minister, I may allude to what has taken place since the occasion to which I refer as having to some extent initiated this movement. It will be remembered that a former Premier of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Gordon Sprigg, visited this country a few months ago, and delivered an address before the City of London branch of the Imperial Federation League, in which he adopted very much the same line of

policy suggested by me two years before, as to the practicability of drawing the bonds between the Mother Country and the colonies much more closely together, and rendering them much more enduring, by means of fiscal arrangements between Great Britain and the colonies. He said :

"Now what I should recommend, and what I should trust that the members of the Federation League will take up and press upon Her Majesty's Government, is, that an invitation should be addressed to the Governments of the various colonies and dependencies to send representatives to this country to consider in a conference the practicability of forming a commercial union between the different colonies and dependencies of the Empire."

In its comments upon this speech the *Times* said :

"There is still a considerable amount of fetish-worship, but the ideas upon which any commercial union must rest will not in future incur the furious and unreasoning hostility that would have greeted them twenty years ago. It is getting to be understood that free trade is made for man, not man for free trade, and any changes that may be proposed will have a better chance of being discussed upon their own merits rather than in the light of high-and-dry theory backed by outcries of the thin end of the wedge. The British Empire is so large and so completely self-supporting that it could very well afford, for the sake of serious political gain, to surround itself with a moderate fence."

The Government have recently been urged by a deputation from the United Empire Trade League to get rid of two treaties, those with Belgium and

Germany, which stand in the way of closer fiscal relations between the Mother Country and the colonies. This has also been pressed upon Her Majesty's Government by my colleagues from Australia and the Cape, and by myself. A very great advance has, I think, been made in that direction by the reply of the Prime Minister that the Government of this country will address itself to any possible means to remove the obstructions imposed by those two treaties upon the fiscal relations of the different parts of the Empire. His Lordship said:

"With regard to those two unlucky treaties which were made by Lord Palmerston's Government some thirty years ago, when, I must say, the matters of our relations with the colonies could not have been fully considered, we have tried to find out from official records what the species of reasoning was which induced the statesmen of that day to sign such very unfortunate pledges. . . . I can give you with the greatest confidence, I think, the assurance that not only will not this Government, but any future Government, ever be disposed to enter into any such engagements again. . . . The matter must be one which the Government will carefully watch, and I have no doubt that before a very long time has elapsed some means of mitigating this evil may be found.

There have been other indications of an improved sentiment with regard to the position of the colonies. I now refer to the peerages conferred upon Sir George Stephen and Lady Macdonald. I allude to those two facts as indicating a most important advance in regard to the position of the various

colonies throughout the Empire. The time has come when the Government of this country has declared in the most effective manner—and it is the first time it has ever gone to that extent—that service to the Crown performed in the colonies will be accepted and recognised in the same manner as if it had been performed in any part of Great Britain. Of course it is obvious that this can only be done when other things are equal, and that the occasions are probably few and far between when such a recognition can be given.

To come more directly to the subject under consideration, I believe all are agreed that the leading objects of the Imperial Federation League are to find means by which the colonies, the outlying portions of the Empire, may have a certain voice and weight and influence in reference to the foreign policy of this country, in which they are all deeply interested, and sometimes more deeply interested than the United Kingdom itself. In the next place, that measures may be taken by which all the power and weight and influence that these great British communities in Australasia, in South Africa, and in Canada possess shall be brought into operation for the strengthening and defence of the Empire. The discussion of these questions has led to a great deal of progress. We have got rid of a number of fallacies that obtained in the minds of a good many persons in relation to the means by which those objects are to be attained. Most people have come to the conclusion stated by Lord Rosebery at the Mansion House, that a Parliamentary Federation, if practicable, is so remote, that during the coming century it is not likely to

make any very great advance. We have also got rid of the fallacy that it was practicable to have a common tariff throughout the Empire. It is not, in my opinion, consistent with the Constitution either of England or of the autonomous colonies. The tariff of a country must rest of necessity mainly with the Government of the day, and involves such continual change and alteration as to make uniformity impracticable.

Now the matter resolves itself, in my judgment, into the important question whether, in view of the Constitution of Great Britain, and in view of the Constitutions of the great colonies, it is not possible and practicable to devise a means by which those colonies will have all the voice and all the influence to which they are entitled in reference to the foreign policy of this country. Many of my readers will remember that when the Marquis of Lorne returned from discharging the duties of Governor-General of Canada, which he performed in the most able and satisfactory manner, he delivered at the Royal Colonial Institute an address on Imperial Federation. I am inclined to believe that sufficient attention has not been given to the very practicable means he then suggested, by which the Governments of the colonies could have a voice in the foreign policy of the Empire. Having examined the subject in all its bearings, and having devoted a great deal of thought and consideration to it, I believe that the solution of what I am afraid Lord Salisbury considers an insoluble enigma will be found in that direction. I regard the time as near at hand when the great provinces of Australasia will be confederated under

one Government. I consider that a most vitally important movement, not only to those colonies, but to the Empire itself, because it is in that direction that I look for a great advance with regard to Imperial Federation. I know there may be differences of opinion upon that point; but I believe that, great as are the difficulties which lie in the way of inducing provinces to give up their autonomy and merge themselves in a larger body in which they may be over-weighted, the advantages and necessities to Australasia of being united under one central Government are so great that they will steadily overcome all obstacles which stand in the way of such a movement. When that has been done it will be followed, I doubt not, at a very early day by a similar course on the part of South Africa, and then we shall stand in the position of having three great dominions, commonwealths, or realms, or whatever name is found most desirable on the part of the people who adopt them—three great British communities each under one central and strong Government. When that is accomplished, the measure which the Marquis of Lorne has suggested, of having the representatives of these colonies during the term of their office here in London, practically Cabinet Ministers, will give to the Government of England an opportunity of learning in the most direct and complete manner the views and sentiments of each of those great British communities in regard to all questions of foreign policy affecting the colonies. I would suggest that the representatives of those three great British communities here in London should be leading members of the Cabinet of the

day of the country they represent, going out of office when their Government is changed. In that way they would always represent the country, and necessarily the views of the party in power in Canada, in Australasia, and in South Africa. That would involve no Constitutional change; it would simply require that whoever represented those dominions in London should have a seat in their own Parliament, and be a member of the Administration. It requires no material alteration in the Constitution of this country, and it would be found entirely practicable to provide that when a member of the Cabinet of Australasia, of South Africa, or of Canada represented it in London, he should *ex officio* be sworn a member of the Privy Council in England, and practically become a Cabinet Minister here, or at any rate should be in a position to be called upon to meet the Cabinet on every question of foreign policy, or, at all events, when any question that touched a Colonial interest was being considered. In that way their Governments would be brought in perfect *rapport* with the Imperial Government. And the advantage would be twofold: they would have the opportunity of addressing to the whole Cabinet the views that animated the Governments of their colonies, and they would have the advantage of learning fully the views of the Government of this country, and in that way be able to communicate its sentiments more perfectly to their respective colonies. I do not doubt that in almost every instance Her Majesty's Government would have their united support on any question of foreign policy that touched a Colonial interest. They would thus have

the heartiest and most enthusiastic support of those three great subsidiary Governments forming a complete whole. In that way I believe that, while they would be quite unable to overrule, as it would be most unwise that they should be able to overrule, the Government charged with the administration of public affairs in Great Britain, they would be able so to represent their views as to give them all the weight to which they are entitled. I think that would fully meet the views of the outlying portions of the Empire, giving them as it would an opportunity of expressing their opinions and of exercising their influence in relation to questions of foreign policy.

And now comes the next question, that of defence. No one can fail to see how advantageous it would be for England to appear before the world with the knowledge on the part of every foreign country that she was not standing alone, but acting with the united influence and support of those great British Dominions, which at no distant day will have a population larger than that of Great Britain. The moral weight and the prestige thus given would be considerable, but the means of concerting united action for defence between those outlying portions of the Empire and the Government of the day here would be the most effective and practical method by which they could aid and support each other. Many persons, I am aware, both in the colonies and here, have looked upon the question of the defence of the Empire as best promoted and secured by a direct contribution to the support of the army and navy of this country. That I regard as a very mistaken opinion,

and I believe that there is a much more effective means of promoting the object in view. In my opinion, no contribution to the army and navy of England on the part of Canada would have contributed to the defence of the Empire in a greater degree than the mode in which the public money in Canada has been expended for that purpose. We have expended, in addition to an enormous grant of land, over a million pounds sterling per annum, from the first hour that we became a united country down to the present day, in constructing a great Imperial highway across Canada from ocean to ocean, not only furnishing the means for the expansion of the trade and the development of Canada, but providing the means of intercommunication at all seasons between the different parts of the country. Louis Riel and a mere handful of half-breeds were able to terrorise the whole of the North-West of Canada in 1870 for half a year, until the arrival of Lord Wolseley, who occupied three months in reaching that place after the spring opened. Lord Wolseley could now perform the same journey within two days. On the last occasion on which a rising occurred, in 1885, but ninety miles of the Canadian Pacific Railway remained incomplete. In twenty-four hours 4,000 men had volunteered from every part of Canada to go at once to the North-West, and the disturbance was quelled without calling upon this country for the slightest assistance. We have, therefore, not only provided the means of intercommunication, the means of carrying on our trade and business, but have also established a great Imperial highway which England might to-morrow find almost essential for

the maintenance of her power in the East. Not only has Canada furnished a highway across the continent, but it has brought Yokohama three weeks nearer to London than it is by the Suez Canal. I give that as an illustration that there are other means which, in my judgment, may contribute much more to the increased strength and the greatness of the Empire than any contribution that could be levied upon any of the colonies.

It is admitted that England has nearly reached the limit of its expansion in these islands. But she has unlimited power of expansion in the outlying portions of the Empire. She possesses to-day all the most important sections of the world adapted for European colonisation — Australasia, South Africa, and Canada. I do not undervalue her other possessions, but I am now speaking of the means of building up great and powerful British communities. The expenditure by the Government of Canada that has successfully opened up those enormous tracts of country in the great North-West of Canada, which promise to be the granary of the world, is of itself the best means of making England strong and prosperous, as it will attract a large British population thither. Many persons are labouring under a great mistake with reference to the position of Canada and the rapidity with which it has advanced. As a matter of fact no place in the world has made greater progress and more substantial advance in the last twenty-four years, since it was united under one Government. Great as is the development of the United States of America, where they have increased their population since the date of their independence twenty-

three times, that of Canada is still greater, as the population has in the same period increased twenty-seven times, and there is every reason to expect a still more rapid increase now that they have opened up by their magnificent line of intercommunication the enormous stretch of country remaining for development west of Lake Superior.

There is no doubt that in a comparatively few years a large population will occupy Canada, and that England will be strengthened by a great British auxiliary on the northern half of the continent of North America. Canada has in addition expended since confederation over forty millions of dollars upon her militia and mounted police, and in the establishment of a military college, which, I am proud to know from one of the highest authorities, is second to no military school in the world, and of nine other military schools and batteries in the various provinces of which Canada is composed. In 1889 Canada expended no less than two millions of dollars on the militia and the North-West mounted police, which anyone who knows the country will admit is a most effective means of defence. It is true we have a comparatively small permanent force, but we have established military schools, and we have such a nucleus of a further force as in case of need would enable us to develop the militia in the most effective manner, consisting of 37,000 volunteers who are trained annually, and a reserve of 1,000,000 men, liable to be called upon should the necessity arise. One of the most effective means adopted by the Imperial Parliament for the defence of the Empire is by subsidising fast steamers built under Admiralty supervision,

with armament which can be available at a moment's notice. These steamers could maintain their position and keep up mail communication in time of war, or be used for the transport of troops. Canada has contributed £15,000 a year to a splendid line of steamers, such as I have described, now plying between Canada, Japan, and China, and has offered no less than £165,000 per annum to put a service like the *Teutonic* between England and Canada, and a fast service between Canada and Australia. All these splendid steamers would be effective as cruisers if required for the protection of British commerce and the transport of troops and thousands of volunteers from the colonies to any point that the protection of the Empire demanded. These actual facts illustrate, in my opinion, the best mode of contributing to the strength and defence of the Empire. In my judgment, instead of adding to its defence, the strength of a colony would be impaired by taking away the means which it requires for its development and for increasing its defensive power, if it were asked for a contribution to the army and navy. Any such contribution would be utterly insignificant in its value compared with what is now being accomplished. The same may be said of Australia. Does any person suppose it would be strengthening the Empire if for any such purpose the means now used for the creation of a navy of her own, for fortifying the country, and opening it up for development from one end to the other were diverted to some other purpose?

I will now approach what I am afraid will be regarded as a very controversial part of my argu-

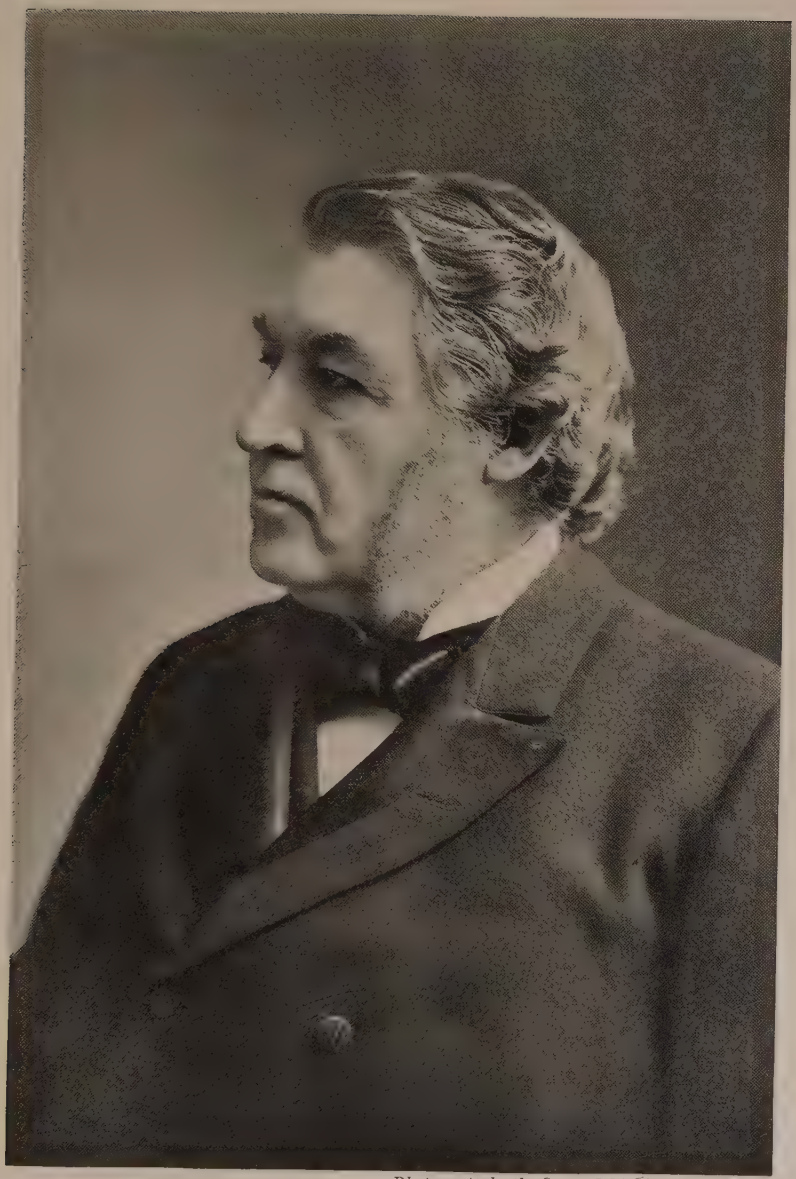
ment, but I am again encouraged to do so by the statement which the Prime Minister made to the deputation from the United Empire Trade League. His Lordship said:

"I deeply feel the very great importance of the subject submitted to us to-day, which not only involves those questions which were dealt with by the deputation which waited upon me two days ago, namely, our relations and the continuance of our relations with our colonies, but also raises those vast fiscal questions which are engaging more than any other political or perhaps social questions the attention of every nation in the world. . . . If you give a preferential treatment —that is, a better price—to your colonies, it must be a better price than that which, with unrestricted competition, is obtaining now. A better price to the producer means a more disagreeable price to the consumer; and what we have to know before we can formulate any propositions, or before we can invite our colonies to any kind of federation—what it is we have to know is, how far the people of this country would be disposed to support a policy of which, I imagine, the most prominent features are preferential taxes on corn, preferential taxes on meat, and preferential taxes on wool. Some people may say you can have these preferential taxes without any increase of price to the consumer. . . . On these matters public opinion must be formed before any Government can act. No Government can impose its own opinion upon the people of the country in these matters. It is the duty of those who feel themselves to be the leaders of such a movement, and the apostles of

such a doctrine, to go forth and fight for it, and when they have convinced the people of the country the battle will be won."

I cannot think that Lord Salisbury is entirely sound in the view which he propounded, that the objects at which, certainly, the United Empire Trade League aimed could not be accomplished without increasing the cost of living to the consumers in this country. He said, "A better price to the producer means a more disagreeable price to the consumer." In the first place, the question of supply has to be considered. Whence are the bread and meat to come from to supply the enormous demands of this country? I am going to quote a very high and distinguished authority, and one who will be regarded as such not only in England, but in the United States and in Canada, and I may say throughout the British Empire; I refer to a speech delivered, and which I read with the greatest pleasure, by Sir Lyon Playfair at Leeds on a recent occasion. In delivering a very exhaustive and able statement in regard to the McKinley Tariff, he especially drew attention to an important fact, which was, that the time was near at hand when, owing to the increased population of the United States of America and the exhaustion of their wheat lands—because both are going on with great rapidity—the United States would be unable to furnish bread to this country. He said:

"Canada has shown much energy in opening up her vast possessions by railways and by steamboats. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are now connected by an iron band. Canada can grow



Photograph by the Lancefield Abell Co., Ottawa

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B.

(MARCH, 1898)

for us all the food which we now take from the United States. In less than twenty years the latter will have no surplus food to send, so it is the interest of England to aid the development of Canadian agriculture. New markets are springing up for Canadian produce, and the prices, even of the threatened barley and eggs, have not fallen. As Canada, like other nations, can only sell by exchange for what she buys in commodities, these will have to come from England and other markets by reciprocal trade. The natural effect of the act will be to draw together Canada and England. Trade is not conducted by sentiment. If we buy from Canada she must buy from us. Our great colony has boundless resources in agriculture, and in mining, forest, and fishing industries, from Nova Scotia on the Atlantic to British Columbia on the Pacific. Through the latter ocean, the markets of India, Japan, and China are opened to her."

I believe that every person who has taken the trouble to get accurate information in respect to Canada will endorse that statement, that it is only a question of time and only a question of development for Canada to be able to produce all the food, both bread and meat, that is now sent from the United States to this country. This meets the question of supply, and the competition of India, Australia, and Canada will regulate the price. Who can doubt that the Chancellor of the Exchequer of England could sit down with the then members of the Cabinet representing Australasia, South Africa, and Canada, and devise a fiscal policy, not a common tariff, between England and these three colonies that would give an enormous develop-

ment and expansion to Australasia, to South Africa, and to Canada, and at the same time give a valuable stimulus to the trade of this country?—because I need not repeat the truism, which is familiar to every one, that trade follows the flag. It is only necessary to look to the statistics of the colonies, and of foreign countries, to see how very much greater British trade is, in proportion to population, with the former than with the latter. I believe that it is perfectly practicable to devise such a policy as would give that enormous development which would be required in order to enable Canada in twenty years, as Sir Lyon Playfair has said, to take the place of the United States of America in furnishing corn and cattle for the United Kingdom, not only without inflicting any injury upon any portion of the Empire, but on the other hand greatly increasing the trade of this country. If the Mark Lane prices are examined, or the report of the Board of Agriculture, it will be found that in 1890 and 1891 there was a fluctuation in corn of 10s. 6d. a quarter, and you will find that it had to reach practically 10s. a quarter before it made a halfpenny difference upon the four-pound loaf. I am inclined to think that 5s. a quarter imposed upon all foreign corn would be sufficient advantage to the corn of India, Australasia, and Canada; that it would not affect the cost of bread, and that it would yet give an immense impetus and advance to the development of the colonies and of their trade with Great Britain. Let me give you an illustration with reference to meat. Canada, in consequence of the existence of pleuro-pneumonia in the United States of America,

is able to send her cattle into this country without being subjected to slaughter on arrival. Mr. Rusk, the highest authority in the United States of America on that question, has declared that it gives an advantage to Canada of from eight to twelve dollars a head—say ten dollars. The result is, that with that advantage an immense expansion of the trade took place in Canada. Last year we sent 123,000 head of cattle from Canada to England, which resulted in putting over a million dollars more money into the pockets of the people of Canada than the United States received for the same number, and yet no one in this country ever heard an insinuation that the price of meat was affected. This is an illustration, therefore, how England can give an important advantage to her colonies without affecting the cost of the consumer's bread or meat.

In support of these views, I may add that I took the opportunity during the journeys which my late lamented friend Sir John Macdonald and I made in Canada during the recent elections to discuss this subject fully with him, and I am glad to be able to say that that distinguished statesman told me he was prepared to endorse most heartily such a proposition, and that it would receive when propounded the best support that he could give to it. He is, unhappily, no longer with us to give his invaluable aid, but the expression of such an opinion will, I know, have great weight. When the founder of the Imperial Federation League, the late Mr. Forster, came to discuss the question of Imperial Federation with me eight years ago, I told him that the most careful consideration I

had been able to give the subject led me to the conclusion that the means of drawing the colonies and the Mother Country more closely together, and binding them for all time, would have to be found in such fiscal arrangements as I was satisfied could be made, by which the outlying portions of the Empire would be treated by this great country on a different footing from foreign countries. His reply was, " Well, I am a free trader, but I am not so fanatical a free trader that I should not be perfectly willing to adopt such a policy as that for the great and important object of binding this great Empire together."

I believe that by the mode suggested the colonies may obtain such voice and influence in the foreign policy of this country as would amply satisfy them, and that, on the other hand, an increased strength would be given to the Empire by concerting the necessary measures for the purpose of common defence. I have endeavoured to offer my humble solution of the enigma to which the Marquis of Salisbury referred. I may say that I have done so with diffidence. I make these suggestions with an open mind, prepared to abandon my own views if any better means of attaining the same object can be suggested. I shall give my hearty support to any proposal by which the great and important objects of the Imperial Federation League can be realised.

CHAPTER XIV

"HOW TO FEDERATE THE EMPIRE: A REPLY TO CRITICS" *

In the October number of this Review I ventured with much hesitation to give my views on the question of Imperial Federation. Mine was not a Colonial plan, nor did I speak for Canada. Imperial Federation, as I then showed, did not emanate from the colonies, but was originated by a number of the leading public men of both the political parties in this country in 1884. Having devoted thirty-seven years of my life to securing to the best of my ability the perpetuation for all time of British institutions in the northern half of North America, and believing as I did that the greatness of the British Empire depended upon the retention of her colonies, I responded to the suggestion of Lord Salisbury that a scheme should be propounded. I may be permitted to say in excuse for my temerity that I had the honour to be one of the authors, a quarter of a century ago, of the Federation of Canada, which has surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its founders. I offered my suggestions with diffidence, and declared my readiness to abandon them if anything better could be devised. These proposals have been subjected to the most extended criticism here and in Canada and

* *The Nineteenth Century*, April, 1892.

Australia, but after the most careful examination of all the objections I cannot find that I have been favoured by my critics with any alternative plan.

It is satisfactory to me to know that a large portion of the criticism to which my former article was subjected was founded upon a misapprehension of what I had written. I proposed that when Australasia and South Africa were each united under a central government, as Canada now is, the representatives in London of each of these great outlying portions of the Empire, being members of their respective Governments, should *ex officio* be sworn of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and thus be placed in a position to be called into consultation with the Cabinet on all questions of foreign policy affecting the countries from which they came. This has been treated as a demand from Canada, and as a great concession for the Imperial Government to make, and Lord Brassey dismisses the proposition curtly in this Review of January last by saying: "It does not seem feasible to give seats in the Cabinet to the Agents-General of the Colonies." That is not what I proposed; but for the purpose of meeting the suggestion made by the advocates of Imperial Federation that some means of giving the colonies a voice in matters of foreign policy must be found, and of affording Her Majesty's Government the fullest information on questions vitally affecting the whole Empire, and of promoting the most perfect *rapport* with what a no distant day will be Greater Britain, I ventured to propound a means by which these objects could be obtained without in the least degree conflicting

with the Constitution of this country or of the colonies. This proposal was first suggested by that eminent veteran statesman, Earl Grey. It has been endorsed by the Marquis of Lorne after five years' experience as Governor-General of Canada. The Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster said in this Review of February, 1885:

"Lord Grey has repeated in the *Pall Mall Gazette* the suggestion whch he made in this Review in 1879, viz. the appointment of the Agents of the colonies as Privy Councillors, and their constitution as a board of advice to assist the Cabinet, and especially the Colonial Secretary, in the management of Colonial affairs; and Lord Lorne has further defined this suggestion, and given excellent arguments in its support. It would be difficult to find any proposal supported by so great a weight of experience as this agreement between the veteran Minister, who has an unmatched experience of the Colonial Office, and the man who has just returned from successful government of our largest colony."

Lord Granville, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the dinner given to Mr. Murray Smith, the Agent-General of Victoria, said:

"Mr. Murray Smith, our honoured guest, will be at home next month. In addition to the great personal position which he held in the estimation of his fellow-colonists when he came out, his sojourn in this country must add to the weight of his opinions. He is the type of the class of men whom the great colonies have sent out as their representatives, and who have contributed to the formation of an institution of inestimable advantage to the relations of the home country and the great

dependencies of the Crown. They have brought us into nearer touch with one another. Many mistakes which have formerly arisen through misconception on either side, either as regards the feelings of the colonies, the Imperial necessities, or international obligations, would now be unjustifiable, and ought to be impossible."

Lord Rosebery, in his speech on Colonial and Foreign Policy at Leeds in 1888, said:

"A great change has come over the whole of our foreign policy during the last twenty years. I think you will see a greater change in the next twenty years. Our foreign policy has become more of a Colonial policy, and is becoming every day more entwined with our Colonial interests. Formerly our foreign policy was mainly an Indian policy—it was mainly guided by considerations of what was best for our Indian Empire. That brought us into many complications which we might otherwise have avoided, but which we felt were rightly faced to save so splendid a possession; but now, owing to causes which I will point out to you, Colonial influences must necessarily overshadow our foreign policy. In the first place, our Colonial communities are rising to a pitch of power which makes it natural for us to listen to them whenever they make representations on their own behalf; and they do make constant representations on their own behalf. In the next place, we find that the other Powers are beginning a career of Colonial aggrandisement. We formerly did not have in our foreign affairs to trouble ourselves much with Colonial questions because we had a monopoly of colonies. That

monopoly has ceased; but consider for a moment, as matters stand now, how largely our foreign policy is a Colonial policy. Why, our principal question of foreign policy at this moment may be said to be the fisheries dispute between Canada and the United States. It is difficult for some of us—it is difficult, at any rate, for myself—to consider the United States as a foreign power, but the United States in these Colonial questions has interests totally different from ours or those of Canada, and in dealing with Canadian questions it is clear that the voice of Canada must sound loud in the councils of the Foreign Office. . . .

"You are a coterminous power with Germany in the Pacific. In questions relating to the Pacific, the voice of your Colonial community in Australia must be loudly heard; the voice of Australia must be almost paramount in the councils of the Foreign Office with regard to these questions. . . .

"You will have, as I think, to admit the colonies to a much larger share in your affairs than you do at present. You will have to give them a right to prompt the voice of England, when it speaks abroad, to a much greater extent than at present."

Lord Derby and Lord Stanley, the present Governor-General of Canada, have borne testimony to the assistance the representatives of the self-governing colonies have been to the Government here in the administration of public affairs. Lord Thring, in his recent brochure on "The Consolidation of the British Empire," says on this point: "The direct intervention of a colony may be secured by elevating the position of an Agent-General to one more akin to that of a Minister of

a foreign State, and giving him a facility of access to the British Government." Who, with all this evidence before them, can doubt the advantage to the Imperial Cabinet of the fullest and freest consultation under the confidential regulations of the Privy Council with the representatives of the Governments of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa? If anyone is able to propound a more practicable means of mutual co-operation and concert in the interests of the Empire his suggestions will be welcomed.

I now come to the question of defence. Well aware that the policy of levying a large tax upon the colonies for the support of the army and navy of England was one of the principal attractions of Imperial Federation with many in this country, and believing that policy to be founded on misapprehension and fraught with danger, I stated my opinion that the strength of the Empire would be better promoted by the resources of the colonies being utilised in the future, as they had been in the past, in opening up the great fields of colonisation possessed by Great Britain in Canada, South Africa, and Australasia, and providing for their local defence. As an illustration of what could be done in that way I referred to the construction of a transcontinental line of railway by Canada at a cost to the country of over twenty-five millions sterling, and for which the people are now taxed nearly a million sterling per annum. I referred also to an average annual expenditure of fourteen hundred thousand dollars for the permanent force, for the training of 37,000 militiamen, and for the Royal Military College, which has already pro-

vided some seventy officers for the British Army. My critics have misconstrued what I said into a statement that the construction of this great line of railway communication was to be taken as a sufficient contribution by Canada to the defence of the Empire, and, while not venturing to deny its Imperial importance, have reminded me that it was built for commercial purposes, and that the capital was obtained in this country! The Intercolonial railway was lengthened and its cost greatly increased at the instance of Her Majesty's Government, for strategic purposes, and without the Canadian Pacific Railway there could be no communication through British territory between the older provinces and the North-West and British Columbia. It was indispensable as a means of defence and mutual support. Its Imperial value is not, I submit, lessened because it opened up to settlement the great prairies of the Canadian North-West, where forty millions of British subjects may find employment in providing bread and meat for the people of this country. I can bear the taunt that the capital for the Canadian Pacific Railway was found in this country when it is remembered that those who supplied it have been paid the highest rate of interest, and thus enriched, whilst those who sent their money to South America have lost it. I may say, however, that I did not refer to what Canada had done to promote the security of the Empire as in any way absolving her from further expenditure, but as an indication of her readiness to discharge her duty in this regard. I may say that I differ *toto cælo* with those who are apparently striving to convince the British public

that Canada is a burden to the Empire. One member of the House of Commons has avowed the opinion that the sooner England can rid herself of such an incubus the better, but I feel confident that that sentiment is not shared by half a dozen of his fellow-members. The views of the great body of the public men of all parties in this country on this point were well stated by Lord Rosebery in his address to the Chamber of Commerce at Leeds:

"It is not merely the commercial interests involved, it is a narrowing down of this country to its European possessions. Do not flatter yourself that if Canada and Australia were to leave you you would retain your smaller colonies. The West Indies would go with Canada; Australia would take in Australasia. As to the Cape, I think you might well make up your mind for the secession of the Cape under circumstances such as these. Well, if you wish to remain alone in the world with Ireland you can do so."

Also by Lord Salisbury in his speech at Exeter in February:

"What is it that gives to this little island its commanding position? Why is it that fleets from every nation, from every quarter of the globe, come into your ports; that the products of countless regions are subject to your industry; and that the manufactures which the industry of your people complete are carried to the farthest corners of the globe? What is it that gives to you this privileged position? It is that your flag floats over populations far more numerous and regions far vaster than your own, and that upon the dominions of your Sovereign the sun never sets."

I yield to no one in a due appreciation of the great value to Canada of the army and navy and diplomatic service of England. But I deny that any additional burden is imposed upon this country by the possession of Canada. If the United States could accomplish their desire of having one Government from the Equator to the North Pole, and England were left without a harbour in North America into which her ships could enter in time of war, and deprived of her invaluable coal supplies, both on the Atlantic and Pacific coast, can anyone pretend that she could reduce her army by a man or her navy by a ship? What would then become of her trade with China and Japan, and to what extent might not her Indian Empire be thus imperilled? Canada has shown in the past the value she attaches to British institutions, and will every hour become a still greater strength to the Empire by building up and training a powerful British community to defend the connection of which she is so proud. Commercial principles and defence may be combined, as in the case of her canals—on which she has already expended over eleven millions sterling, and has incurred further liabilities—which provide the most magnificent inland navigation in the world, and will enable gunboats of large size to reach, in case of war, the head of Lake Superior.

Among the measures recently sanctioned by the Parliament of this country to increase its naval strength, it will be generally admitted that the policy of securing the construction of armed cruisers like the *Teutonic* and *Majestic*, built under Admiralty supervision, of great speed, provided with armament,

and subject to appropriation as cruisers in time of war, promises the best results in proportion to the expenditure. Canada is now pledged to appropriate £165,000 sterling per annum to provide such a service from England to Canada, and between Canada and Australia. She has already given £15,000 a year to the steamers between Canada and Japan and China, making a total annual sum of £180,000 for the best form of naval defence. At a time when Canada has accomplished so much for the security of the Empire in the past, and is now struggling to secure at great cost such an important enterprise, is she to be held up to the contempt of the people of this country as not taking her fair share of the burdens of the Empire? Let me say to Sir John Colomb, who criticises in his "Survey of Existing Conditions" the issues which occupied the people of Canada at the late general election, that when the Opposition propounded to the country, then smarting under the McKinley tariff, the policy of consulting their own interests by supporting free trade with the American Republic, involving the adoption of their prohibitory tariff against England, the Government of Canada joined issue with them on that point, and went in to the battle with "British institutions, and no discrimination against the Mother Country" inscribed on their banners. Their great leader, Sir John A. Macdonald, who in his seventy-sixth year braved the inclemency of a Canadian winter, fell a martyr in that struggle, but not until he had planted that flag securely upon the ramparts of his country, and had his dying hours cheered, like the immortal Wolfe, by the consciousness that

victory was assured. All that I have said in regard to Canada on this question may be said in reference to Australia. If those great colonies are suffering at this moment from financial embarrassment, it is because their credit has been strained in a loyal endeavour to open up their country for settlement and to provide the means of defence on land and sea.

I am glad to be able to inform Lord Thring that the law requires that the officer at the head of the Canadian Militia and Military Force shall be an officer of the Imperial Army, that he has always been selected by the Commander-in-Chief here, and that the Canadian Act provides that: "Whenever the militia or any part thereof is called out for active service by reason of war, invasion, or insurrection, Her Majesty may place them under the orders of the commander of her regular forces in Canada."

In my former article, after dealing with what I considered a practicable mode of giving the outlying portions of the Empire the best means of making their opinions known on questions of foreign policy affecting them, and of securing cordial co-operation between them and the Imperial Government, I expressed the opinion that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be able to devise with the three representatives of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa a fiscal policy that would be mutually advantageous, and at the same time greatly promote the development of the colonies and expand the trade of England. I offered at the same time some evidence to show that a small duty on corn would not necessarily

raise the price of bread. Here again I have been greatly misunderstood, and charged by my critics with asking everything and conceding nothing. I submit that my statement will not bear that construction, as I proposed the fiscal policy to be adopted should be settled with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on mutually advantageous terms. Long ago, in the Canadian House of Commons, I advocated the policy of a mutually preferential tariff between Canada and England. My mode of arranging it meets the objection raised by Mr. Goschen in a debate on this question in the House of Commons in 1891. He said: "We ought to have securities from the colonies not merely that they would put a 5 per cent. extra on foreigners, but that their tariff itself should be such as would be likely to protect this country from loss." The arrangement proposed by me would give that security, as it was to be made with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would ensure at the same time a great development in the colonies, and a corresponding expansion of the trade of this country by the increased demand for the products of British industry. No one who takes the trouble to investigate this subject can doubt the advantage of such a policy in stimulating the rapid progress of England's great fields for colonisation or the consequent expansion of British trade. Even as matters now stand, the truism that trade follows the flag is placed beyond controversy by the statistics of the Empire. Lord Rosebery, in the speech to which I have alluded at the Chamber of Commerce at Leeds, gives conclusive evidence on this point. He said:

"The United States have taken from us during

Photograph by W. & D. Downey, Ebury Street, S.W.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G. (1906)

the last ten years an average of £24,350,000 of home produce. Their population is nearly 60,000,000, and, therefore, they have taken of our home produce at the rate of about 8s. per head. Now Canada, which, as you know, is coterminous with the United States, and which remains to us, has taken from us on an average £7,300,000 during the past ten years. Take their population at 5,000,000, and that gives nearly 30s. per head, or nearly four times what the United States takes from us. Well, but, gentlemen, you may say that the United States have a more hostile tariff against us than Canada has; but, if you think for a moment, you will remember that, if Canada were to leave us she would be pretty certain to adopt the tariff of the United States, and we should not be materially benefited by that proceeding. But let us consider the case of Australia. Australia takes from us on an average £24,250,000, or about the same as the whole of the United States, although its population is only about 3,250,000, or at the rate of £7 per head, being more than seventeen times more than the United States with its population of 60,000,000. Now, gentlemen, I wish to say that, on that ground of commercial interest alone, the question is worthy of the consideration of our great commercial communities."

If, therefore, the effect of a duty on corn did slightly increase the cost of bread, the artisans of this country would, in my opinion, find abundant compensation in the increased employment resulting from this policy. But while my critics have challenged the accuracy of my assertion that the small duty suggested on foreign corn would not

increase the price in the loaf, none of them have condescended to refute the evidence I submitted in support of that opinion. I took the prices of corn at Mark Lane for two years, and showed that an increase of 5s. per quarter did not raise the cost of bread; in fact, it was only when the increase reached 10s. that a halfpenny was added to the four-pound loaf. I have not seen any refutation of the clear and concise statements of Lord Dunraven on this question in this Review for March, 1891. He said:

"The duty on wheat in France in 1882 was only 2·8d. per cwt.; in 1885 it was raised to 15d. per cwt., or 536 per cent. According to some economists, the price of wheat should have gone up in like proportion, and the masses have had to pay dearer for their bread. But what are the facts? The price of wheat actually fell from an average of 10·08s. per cwt. in 1883, the year following the low duty, to 9·29s. in 1886, the year following the increased duty, or 8 per cent. Instead of the poor man in France having to pay dearer for his bread, he paid less in 1886 than in 1883, as the following table shows:

Bread	1883	1884	1885	1886
	d.	*d.*	*d.*	*d.*
First quality . . .	1·57	1·49	1·39	1·39
Second quality . .	1·35	1·26	1·17	1·22
Third quality. . .	1·17	1·13	1·04	1·09

"In Germany, too, I find the same results follow from increased duties. Wheat went down from 10·30s. per cwt. in 1882, when the duty was 6d. per cwt., to 9.39s. per cwt. in 1889, or 9 per cent., when the duty was 2s. 6d. per cwt., or 500 per

cent. higher, while bread remained at about the same price. Internal development appears in both these cases to have more than compensated for any restriction of foreign imports, and it is only fair to remember that the resources of the British Empire in respect of food supply are immeasurably greater than those of France or Germany."

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, I am aware, said a short time ago in the House of Commons: "Supposing a duty is imposed upon these articles coming from foreign countries here, what would be the natural effect? The price would be raised by something more than the duty. If the price was not raised, what good would it be to the colonies?" I do not despair of convincing the President of the Board of Trade that the price would not be increased, and that the result would be an immense advantage to both Great Britain and her colonies. I respectfully submit that the price of corn is controlled not by the cost of production, of freight or insurance, or of the duty, but by the question of demand and supply. I have already given the testimony of a gentleman well acquainted with both Canada and the United States, Sir Lyon Playfair, that in a few years the United States will have no corn for export, and that Canada will be able to supply all that now comes from that country. Mr. Staveley Hill, M.P., who has an intimate personal knowledge of the great Canadian North-West, said at a conference of the Midland Union of Conservative Associations last July:

"He knew Canada and Manitoba well, and he believed that during the next ten years they would be able to supply all that amount of grain which

the population of England required, and which could not be supplied by England itself. If that was so supplemented by grain from other colonies, we should see ourselves absolutely independent of any grain coming from Russia, the United States, France, or any other countries that put on prohibitive duty."

The *New York Sun* in a recent issue went into a series of calculations which show that in about seven years the surplus corn of the United States will be required for the consumption of its own population. All this points to the necessity of stimulating the production of corn in India, Canada, and Australasia in such a way as fully to meet the demand in this country. The imposition of a small duty in the meantime will not stop the supply from the United States, for the best of reasons, that they have no other market so good, even if they had to add 5s. a quarter to the freight and insurance they now pay. It does not matter to the buyer whether the wheat pays ten cents freight, as it may do if grown near the sea-coast, or forty cents if grown in Manitoba. The cost of getting it to market is paid by the seller, whether freight or duty. In 1887, wheat in London brought 7s. 3d., in 1890 4s. per bushel, a difference of 45 per cent., yet this fall in price did not lessen production. I will now endeavour to show Sir Michael Hicks-Beach how both England and the colonies may be benefited without an increase in the price. The State of Dakota, in the United States, and the Province of Manitoba lie side by side, and are both famous for the production of the finest wheat in the world. Where will the hundreds of thousands of agricul-

turists seeking homes annually in the New World go if the wheat raised in the Canadian North-West comes into this great mart free, while that grown in Dakota pays 5s. a quarter before it can compete with it? In a short time a large number of men would, under these circumstances, take their capital and industry to build up Canada, who would otherwise go under a foreign flag instead of becoming a source of wealth and strength to the Empire. But what will be the effect upon the artisans of this country? Let me answer that question in the words of Sir William Leng at a recent meeting of the Sheffield Chamber of Commerce. He said:

"In other words, one Australian settler, with a wife and three children, is about as good a customer as sixty Americans, seventy-five Germans, or seventy Frenchmen. One million such families would be worth as much to British labour as the whole American nation. Twenty shillings' worth of Colonial produce secures a demand for nineteen shillings' worth of British labour products. Every quarter of wheat imported from Australia secures from fifteen to twenty times the trade and employment a quarter of American wheat does; and every quarter from Canada thirty-five times as much as one from Russia."

I think I have shown that the price would not be increased by the imposition of the duty, but even if it were it would be to an insignificant extent, and the consumer could be relieved in other ways. Mr. Chaplin, the Minister of Agriculture, laid a return upon the table of the House of Commons in April, 1891, which showed that the duty of 1s. per quarter remitted in 1869 had caused no decrease in

the price of bread, and that if it had been continued it would have produced over £2,000,000 of revenue in 1890. It is therefore obvious that the proposed duty would furnish the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the means of reducing the duty on foreign teas and coffee to a much greater extent than would meet any possible enhanced cost of bread.

One objection has been raised to which I am almost ashamed to allude, and that is, that the United States would resent such a policy and retaliate. I am not surprised that Mr. Carnegie, whose great desire is to see Canada forced to become part of the United States, should attack any policy calculated to consolidate the Empire. How could they retaliate? Would they refuse to send their wheat to the best market they could still find in the world? They would cease to be Americans if they did. Can they adopt a tariff more prohibitory, either to Canada or England, than the McKinley Act? I am glad to see that the Chancellor of the Exchequer repudiates this humiliating doctrine. On February 17, 1891, he used the following language in the House of Commons:

"I think it possible that the advantages of the consolidation of the Empire may be so great that, if the increase in the price of the loaf is extremely small, the producers, with whom the power now lies far more than with the consumers, may not object. . . .

"I differ from the right honourable Member for Leeds, who supposed that if we had any customs union or arrangement by which favour was shown to the colonies, that the United States would have a right to interfere. I do not think the United

States would have a right to remonstrate or interfere in the way he suggested. The right honourable Member suggested England would be brought to her knees, but I must enter my protest against such an extreme view, that under no circumstances could we make any arrangements with our colonies without bringing in the other bread-producing countries. If we find we could make the whole Empire one as regards customs, surely we have the same right of Zollverein Union as Germany has with Bavaria, or the United States among themselves. I claim for ourselves the same right."

The Earl of Aberdeen, in a speech at Toronto lately, said:

"The price of the loaf of bread need not rise higher by the imposition of a slight preference duty, though the middleman would probably have to reduce his margin of profits. I mean a low tax, such as finds an analogy in a revenue tax. Such, I think, should not give offence to any nation, seeing how it would only apply to integral if autonomous parts of the British Empire. As a strong Free Trader and an advanced Liberal, I think such moderate discrimination as I have described would be practicable in the near future if judiciously introduced and applied. The idea of a federation of Imperial interests is a vast project, worthy of the study of the best of our men at home and abroad."

All the self-governing colonies have united in urging upon the Imperial Government the removal of a clause in the treaties with Belgium and Germany which prevents any closer fiscal relations between England and her colonies than those between them

and foreign countries, and Lord Salisbury has expressed the hope that an opportunity may arise of getting rid of those "unfortunate" provisions. No other country in the world is prevented making the closest fiscal relations they desire within their own possessions.

Sir Albert Rollit, M.P., submitted the following resolution to the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Dublin last autumn, which passed unanimously:

"That, in the opinion of this association, it is expedient that practical arrangements should, if possible, be devised to secure closer commercial union between the Mother Country and her colonies and dependencies, and that the chambers heartily approve of the forthcoming Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, as conducing towards this important end; also that the association will do its best to obtain through its chambers and otherwise the commercial and statistical information necessary to a determination of the questions involved, and authorises its council to appoint a committee for this purpose, if it should deem it desirable to do so."

In his able speech on that occasion he said:

"What is the commercial aspect of this Imperial question? I say, without hesitation, that the colonies and dependencies of England are those which give us not only the most secure portion of our trade, but which, taken as a whole, contribute the largest proportion towards it. Of our exports, the colonies take one-third, as compared with all other nations of the world, and of our imports they contribute one-fourth."

At the conference at Birmingham of the National Union of Conservative Associations in November last, attended by a large number of Members of Parliament, the following resolution was carried by a large majority:

"That the principle advocated by the United Empire Trade League, favouring the extension of commerce upon a preferential basis throughout all parts of the British Empire, will be of the highest collective and individual advantage; and, further, that the provision of any treaties imposing limitations upon the full development of trade between the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Empire should be abrogated; and this conference expresses the earliest expectation that Her Majesty's Government will see their way clear before the next election campaign to make some decisive declaration of their intention to endeavour to promote mutually favouring customs arrangements between the colonies and the home country.

The charge has been made against this policy that it is an abandonment of Free Trade principles, but Lord Salisbury has made an authoritative declaration that preferential fiscal arrangements within the Empire do not involve the principle of protection. It has also been objected that there is no evidence that the colonies would support such a policy. The enthusiasm with which Colonel Howard Vincent was received throughout Canada is conclusive as regards that country. The action taken by all the Agents-General in their appeal to Her Majesty's Government to abrogate the clauses preventing preferential arrangements in those two treaties leaves no reason to doubt the feeling of the

Australasian colonies. The present moment is not favourable for the discussion of this question. But, after the impending struggle which now absorbs attention here is over, whatever may be the issue, the importance of this subject will force itself upon the public mind irrespective of party, with the result, I trust, of consolidating the strength and increasing the prosperity of this great Empire.

Photograph by Topley, Ottawa

LADY TUPPER

CHAPTER XV

THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF CANADA

THE following report of a speech delivered at the United Empire Club on September 21, 1911, embodies my views on the position and progress of Canadian political parties, and incidentally on the progress of the Dominion itself. The Duke of Marlborough, who presided at the meeting, made some interesting personal allusions in his introductory speech. He recalled how, as a boy, he first saw me at the house of his relative, Lord Lansdowne. "I was told when I entered the room that I should see one of the greatest—if not the greatest—of Canadians; and someone whispered, 'Please remember, the gentleman you will see was born the very year the great Napoleon died.' I confess, sir, that when I, a little boy, saw you, I was deeply impressed by your kindness; I was somewhat awed by your presence, and I marvelled at your versatility. Many years have passed, but I doubt whether our guest has grown any older in spirit, despite the burdens he has carried in the last thirty years."

Incidentally the duke mentioned that his knowledge of Canadian railways was confined to the Grand Trunk, though he spoke with enthusiasm of the "granaries of the Empire" which the Canadian Pacific Railway had brought into being. He

pleasantly recalled my defeat of that "darling of Radicalism in Nova Scotia," the Hon. Joseph Howe.

"I am almost overwhelmed by the kindness of your reception and the all too flattering references made to myself. Your Grace has spoken of the Hon. Joseph Howe. I almost feel that I owe you an apology for having defeated so distinguished a gentleman—(laughter)—but it is right that I should also tell you that nothing gave me greater pleasure than to be able to promote the entrance of Mr. Howe, my antagonist of earlier days, into the Cabinet of Sir John Macdonald, and on a subsequent occasion to name him for the Governorship of Nova Scotia. (Cheers.) I should, however, explain —in view of what has been said—that there is no Tory party in Canada. There is a party of Liberal-Conservatives, who, while holding the value of Conservative principles, believe that by carrying them out in a broad and liberal spirit, they are best serving the interests of the country.

"Now, it occurs to me that, considering the great interest felt in this country in regard to Canada, I may profitably use the present occasion by giving my views of the relative position of parties in that country. No one, I suppose, could feel greater delight at the great change which has occurred there than myself, because I think I may venture to say that the recent election returned to power that party to which Canada owes its great position to-day. The Confederation of Canada embraced, in the first instance, only the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Upper and Lower Canada. But the Act very wisely provided

means for bringing in the whole of British North America; and after we had obtained possession, by purchase, of the great Hudson Bay territory, which carried us to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, Sir John Macdonald believed that it was vitally important for the future of Canada that the Province of British Columbia should be included. British Columbia was separated from the rest of Canada by an impassable range of mountains, and the only terms by which we could negotiate with British Columbia was to give it means of access to the rest of Canada. There was not even an Indian trail, and no communication by sea except round the Cape. The only measure by which British Columbia could be secured as a part of the Confederation was by giving it means of communication with ourselves by rail. The result was that the Liberal party raised a hue and cry that we were utterly ruining the country by undertaking an impossible work. Sir John Macdonald was defeated. We went into opposition, and Mr. Mackenzie, the leader of the Liberals, became Prime Minister of Canada. From Confederation right down to 1875 Canada was fairly prosperous, because she had a very low tariff, and the disorganisation of the industries of the United States, owing to the terrible Civil War, gave us most ample protection. But when, happily for them but unhappily for Mr. Mackenzie, the war was concluded and the industries of the United States were reorganised, the effect on Canada of the high protective tariff of the United States was very bad, and her industries were paralysed. Boston and New York became the commercial capitals of Canada. The country was

depopulated, and for five years Mr. Mackenzie carried out a Free Trade policy, five years which were ever to be deplored in our history. In 1878 we went to the country on the policy of protection in favour of Canadian industries, and Sir John Macdonald was brought back to power by one of the most overwhelming majorities which has ever taken place in any country.

"Having thus secured a policy which raised Canadians from being mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, we proceeded with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But as late as 1880 Mr. Blake, the leader of the Liberal party, moved a resolution to compel us to suspend operations and not go beyond the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains on the ground that we were sacrificing the rest of the country for 12,000 people in British Columbia. The entire Liberal party voted for that motion. In the following year we were able to arrange with the Canadian Pacific Railway to take over that work, but a combination between the North Pacific Railway of the United States in New York and, I am sorry I must say, the Grand Trunk Railway in Canada, broke down the credit of the company and comparatively paralysed them. It became my duty, as Minister of Railways, to offer a resolution to lend them, in addition to the subsidies which they had had, $30,000,000 at 4 per cent. for four years; and when I did so, Mr. Blake called out, 'Don't call it a loan—you know you will never see a penny.' That money was returned with the 4 per cent. interest within the four years, and the company completed the contract in five years' less time than

the contract required. That project that drove Sir John Macdonald out of public life on the ground that it could not earn enough money to pay for the grease of the axle wheels is to-day the greatest railway in the world. (Cheers.) Its revenue last year was twenty-four millions, it has a fleet of seventy-six steamers, and the hundred-dollar shares are being floated in the neighbourhood of two hundred and fifty dollars.

"I mention this to show that it is the Liberal-Conservative party of Canada which has carried out the great measures which have made Canada what it is. When people speak of the prosperity of the last fifteen years I want to know what the position would have been if British Columbia had not been a part of Canada. I say, therefore, that the completion of Confederation, and of that great inter-oceanic line of railway, and the adoption of a protective policy are the three great measures by which Canada stands to-day in the proud position which she occupies. And when I tell you that all these measures were carried in the teeth of the most bitter opposition of the Liberal party, I think I am not speaking extravagantly when I say that Canada's great position to-day is due to the fact that the Liberal-Conservative party was able to carry out these great measures.

"The policy of protecting the industries of the country adopted in 1878 was reaffirmed by the general election of 1891; and the Liberal party, defeated on all these occasions, came into power in 1896 on a question of race and religion. In Manitoba the right of the French Catholics to separate schools was taken away by the local legis-

lature. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England declared that the rights of the French Catholics had been interfered with, and that it now devolved upon the Parliament of Canada to restore them. When, however, I moved the second reading of the Bill to give the French Catholics the rights to which they were entitled, although I had a decided majority, Sir Wilfrid Laurier joined in the most violent obstruction to prevent anything being done. I was driven to the country, and it was not surprising in those circumstances that I was defeated. But while Sir Wilfrid Laurier obtained office, he did not obtain power; and, going in on a question of race and religion, the first thing the Liberals were compelled to do was to swallow their eighteen years' denunciation of the protective policy, and adopt it as their own. These are the circumstances in which they have the modesty to claim that all this progress is due entirely to their efforts.

"I pass now to the reciprocity question. On a recent occasion, as you know, a banquet was given to Earl Grey, and no person can speak too highly of the manner in which that gentleman distinguished himself in discharging his duties as Governor-General. I draw your attention to a single sentence he used in the course of his able address at the Royal Colonial Institute. He said that the people of Canada sniffed danger in the reciprocity proposals, and thousands and thousands of Liberals feared that their adoption might start their country on an incline which might eventually land them in the lap of the United States. That is perfectly true, and they had good reason for sniffing danger. In 1891 Sir Wilfrid Laurier went into the contest

with the declaration that if he succeeded they would have Continental Free Trade with the United States. After a most desperate struggle that measure was defeated—a measure which would have involved the adoption by Canada of the tariff made at Washington against this country, as well as the rest of the world; and I want to know how long we could expect to be part of the British Empire if we adopted a policy of that kind. The Hon. Edward Blake deserted his party on the ground that this policy involved the annexation of Canada to the United States. We cannot over-estimate the vital importance of the rejection of that reciprocity arrangement. In that great struggle in 1891 in favour of the maintenance of British institutions, Sir John Macdonald fell, but he did not fall until he had placed on the ramparts of Canada the inscription, 'No discrimination against the Mother Country.'

"This policy animated the Liberal-Conservative party then, and it animated them in the recent contest. The result you know. Mr. Borden, a gentleman of the highest character and standing, challenged the arrangement submitted by Mr. Fielding. Leading his party with great ability and sagacity, he forced the Liberal party to go to the country, and when he had done so, fought the contest in the most brilliant and effective manner from the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Atlantic at Halifax. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, with his charming personality and the brilliant eloquence with which he can support any side of a question he takes up, fought to the bitter end, but only to meet that overwhelming defeat which, I think, has settled for all time the question of whether Canada

shall be British or Republican. Mr. Borden had the support of Mr. MacMaster, who gave most able aid, and of fellow members in the House of Commons. He had, too, the support not only of the Liberal-Conservative party, but of the Hon. Clifford Sifton, a previous colleague of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and of Mr. White, another Liberal, who, I am happy to say, is now Finance Minister in Mr. Borden's Cabinet. The result was received with intense satisfaction by the mass of this country. (Cheers.) What did Mr. Balfour say, that great man whose health has obliged him to retire from the parliamentary position which he adorned? He prophesied that it would be shown that on September 21, 1911, the future course of the Empire was set for all time. In these circumstances you can imagine how gratified I feel to see the party to which Canada from the first owes all these measures led to this triumphant position.

"But I must not forget to say that the efforts neither of Mr. Borden nor of the Conservative party, nor Mr. Sifton, nor Mr. White, were conclusive. There was a speech against reciprocity—a speech that had great weight in Canada—made by a no less distinguished individual than President Taft. I find no fault with him because he was endeavouring to make the United States the dictator of the world by bringing Canada within its folds. They had half the North American continent already, but we had the better half. We have enormous resources, rich soil, and last, but not least, gigantic water-power throughout. Mr. Taft could well believe that now was the time. He said that we were at the parting of the ways. This

was their opportunity; and mark, gentlemen, how this acute statesman declared it to be the last chance of preventing the consummation of Mr. Chamberlain's policy for the consolidation of the British Empire. Talk of the obsequies of Tariff Reform—why, it is ridiculous that any man should be found in this country to talk of such a thing. Mr. Taft saw with an eagle's eye that Mr. Chamberlain's policy was perhaps the only means by which the great British Empire could be made greater still. As an intelligent statesman, he knew that the progress made by that movement since Mr. Chamberlain laid down his high office in 1903 has been one of the most gigantic and overwhelming changes that has ever taken place in this country. Mr. Taft's speech sank deeply into the heart of every intelligent man in Canada who had to decide on the question, by Mr. Taft's showing, whether Canada was to be Republican, or to become with the other great dominions and the Mother Country an Empire overwhelmingly strong and in a position to dictate the peace of the world. No person can attach more importance than I do to the position at which Canada has now arrived—a position which will render this Empire the bulwark of the throne and British institutions, a greater Empire than the world has even seen."

CHAPTER XVI

MY PREMIERSHIP, AND AFTER

THE downfall of the Conservative party in 1895–6 was occasioned by the determination of the Government not to deal with the Manitoba school question in the session of 1895. The delay resulted in that question being thrown into the final session of Parliament which ended on a certain day, and enabled Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, to join with a large section of the Orangemen in preventing the Government from passing the remedial legislation giving effect to the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council. Sir Wilfrid had himself previously demanded the strongest form of coercion of Manitoba by demanding the disallowance of the Act of the Manitoba Legislature abolishing separate schools. The attitude taken at that time by Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir John Thompson was that the question being before the Courts, the final decision of the Privy Council must govern it.

When a majority of the members of the Bowell Cabinet had resigned and the party had been broken into pieces, I was reluctantly induced to come to the rescue on the meeting of Parliament in 1895. Asked by the recalcitrant members of the Cabinet to assume the leadership, I refused, declaring that I would not do so except at the request of the

Premier, Sir Mackenzie Bowell. It was not until all efforts on his part at reconstruction had failed that he requested me to become leader of the party. I told him I would do so if he was prepared to receive back all of his colleagues, to which he assented.

The Government was then reconstructed by my appointment as Secretary of State and leader of the party in the House of Commons until after the session was over, when, by arrangement, I was to succeed Sir Mackenzie Bowell as Prime Minister. Sir Mackenzie proposed that my son, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, should succeed me in the office of Canadian High Commissioner in England. I told him that in view of the vitally important question of the establishment of a fast Atlantic steamship service, for which I had previously made arrangements with Mr. Chamberlain, and the impending Pacific Cable Conference, I thought it desirable that the position should be tendered to Sir Donald Smith, in view of his prominent financial standing. One of my first official acts on assuming the Premiership was to make this appointment. Sir Mackenzie was also appointed jointly with him as one of the delegates to represent Canada at the Cable Conference.

In consequence of Bowell's refusal, in 1885, to deal with the Manitoba school question at the previous election by seeking to carry out the decision of the Imperial Privy Council, the Hon. A. R. Angers, one of the French-Canadian members of the Cabinet, had resigned, and efforts to fill the vacancy had proved fruitless.

When I moved the second reading of the remedial

Bill granting relief to the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba, Sir Wilfrid Laurier joined Mr. Dalton McCarthy and a number of members of Parliament, members of the Orange Order, in opposing the measure. The Opposition leader moved the six-months' hoist. Notwithstanding that I still had a Conservative majority to support the Bill, nothing could be done, as the combination resorted to obstruction. I kept the House in continuous session from Monday to Saturday. This proved unavailing, as in the absence of the closure I was helpless, and the Opposition took advantage of the fact that on a certain date the House would die by the effluxion of time.

Sir J. A. Chapleau, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, and a former colleague, who led me to believe that he would come to my aid in the general election, was induced by Mr. Israel Tarte, M.P., to recede from that position. The school question was a big issue in the campaign. Sir Wilfrid, who had succeeded in defeating the measure in the House, carried the Province of Quebec by a declaration that his objection to the Bill was that it did not go far enough, and by pledging himself to restore the rights of the Manitoba Catholics in all their entirety if necessary. The result was that Chapleau's defection and the hostility of a large portion of the Orange element in Ontario secured my defeat.

I was induced to remain as leader of the party, and after four years' service had the satisfaction of seeing it heartily reunited. In Ontario, where Sir Wilfrid at the opening of the poll in 1900 had a majority of twelve, I reversed that, and at the

close of the poll had a majority of eighteen seats, but not enough to counteract the Liberal landslide in the Province of Quebec. In that election I sustained my first personal defeat, as I devoted practically nearly all my time to the campaign in Ontario. It is only right to say that I refused an offer to be returned with a Liberal candidate in Cape Breton county without a contest, and that provision was to be made for my Conservative colleague, Mr. McDougall.

Although we lost office we did not lose power, as we had the pleasure of seeing the protective policy, which had been bitterly opposed by the Liberals, adopted by them as the only means of remaining on the Treasury benches. When the South African War broke out, Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared his inability to do anything to aid the British Government. I pressed him in the strongest manner, and pledged him the support of my party to the policy of sending a Canadian contingent, and was fortunately able to induce him to change his attitude in regard to that important question.

My son, Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, one of the ablest men in the House of Commons, after twenty-two years' service, including eight years in the Ministry, was obliged, on personal grounds, practically to abandon public life, but he had the satisfaction of proposing the Hon. R. L. Borden as leader of the Opposition. Mr. Borden gave me able and effective support in the House for four years. I need not say that his subsequent action as leader of the Conservative party in Opposition, and his triumphant course as Prime Minister, has been a source of intense satisfaction to myself. Under

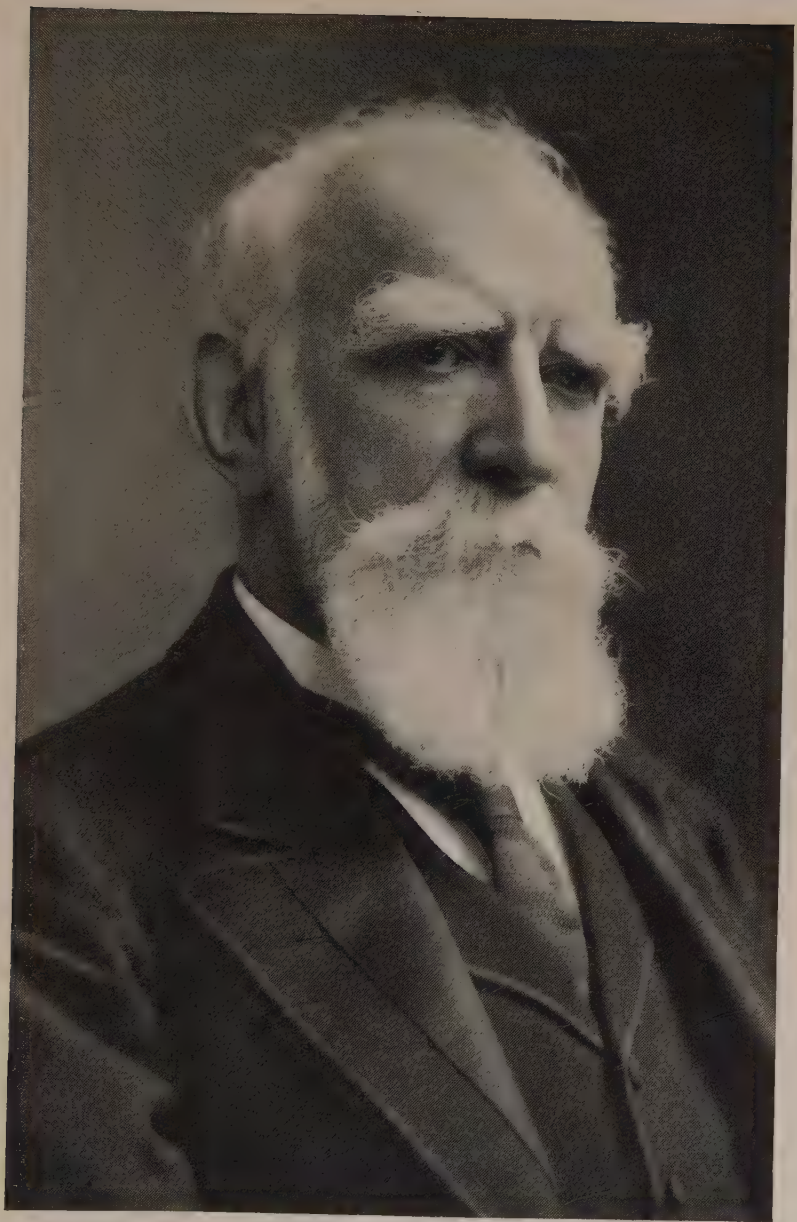
Mr. Borden's administration Canada has attained a higher position in Great Britain than it has ever before reached.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I need not say, is a gentleman of great personal attraction and brilliant eloquence, and I cannot but regret that he was ever induced to abandon his protectionist principles, a matter which caused him to meet with defeat in the constituency he first represented when awarded a portfolio in 1876.

I have always attached great importance to the inclusion of Newfoundland within the Dominion of Canada, and many years ago Sir John Macdonald, who entirely agreed with me on that subject, asked me to call at Newfoundland on my way from England. This I did. On that occasion I had a meeting with all the leading men of the Opposition, and a discussion with the Government of the Colony. I submitted the terms on which I was willing to recommend union. Objections were raised in Newfoundland, and the matter was left in abeyance.

On the last occasion that I saw the Hon. Mr. Bond, a former Premier, when attending the Imperial Conference in London, he said to me: "If you or your son had been at Halifax when the conference with the representatives of Sir Mackenzie Bowell took place, our island would now form part of the Confederation. We told the Canadian delegates that if they would give us the terms proposed by you we would join the union, but to this they would not agree."

I have no hesitation in saying that Canada to-day would be justified in immensely increasing those terms to provide for the consolidation of all the



Photograph by Lafayette Ltd.

LORD STRATHCONA

British possessions in North America, and I hope, in the interests of both, to see such an arrangement carried out.

I arrived in Ottawa on December 10, 1895, to take up the leadership of my party, and a week later called on Lord Aberdeen to hear from him officially that a peerage would be conferred on Sir Donald Smith. I had urged Mr. Chamberlain to do this as Sir George Stephen had been so honoured, and pointed out that his claims in connection with the construction of the C.P.R. were of the highest character. Some kind friend, however, put a spoke in the wheel, and Sir D. A. Smith then received but the G.C.M.G. Subsequently I saw Mr. Chamberlain again, and the peerage duly followed. Some time afterwards I approached Mr. Chamberlain with the further suggestion that in consequence of Lord Strathcona's munificent action at the time of the Boer War, arrangements should be made for the title to descend to his only daughter. Mr. Chamberlain concurred in this, and the matter was so settled.

On my attaining the position of Premier I was inundated with letters of congratulation, and I give a selection from them from persons of note :—

30 *Lowndes Square,*
London, S.W. (1896.)

My dear Sir Charles Tupper,—Will you permit me to congratulate you—and Canada and the Empire—upon the proposal to place you in the Premiership of your own country, and to express my sense of the great loss of mine in your absence

from it in the future. We shall miss you very greatly from all our best and most useful gatherings, and can only be reconciled to this by the knowledge of your advancement and of the gain of the statesmanship of the world.

With every good wish for 1896 and afterwards. —Believe me, yours very sincerely,

ALBERT ROLLIT.

Shipbourne, Cromer,
January 18th, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I must not, and do not wish, of course, to express any opinion in regard to Canadian politics; but you must let me write you a line of personal congratulation on the fact—as I judge from the somewhat meagre cablegrams—that, in the present crisis in Canada, you have been marked out as the *essential* man; and that the arrangement just now is makeshift, and will, before long, lead to your becoming Premier.

This compliment to your abilities and tact must be pleasant.

Though for at present divorced from the C.O., one follows Colonial questions with the deepest possible interest; and one is especially glad to see those whom one liked and admired coming still more to the fore.

Please do not trouble to answer this.—Yours very truly,

SYDNEY BUXTON.

59 *Grosvenor Street, W.,*
February 8th, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I cannot resist writing a few hurried lines to offer my hearty congratulations

upon your grand electoral triumph, and upon your acceptance of a high office which is, I trust, at no distant date to be exchanged for one still higher in the counsels of the Dominion.

Though regretting much upon personal grounds that so great a space is now interposed between us, I feel that much important work, upon which our sympathies are in warm accord, will be materially forwarded by the transfer of your field of labour to its present location.

There can be no doubt, as I am so glad to read that you are plainly putting before our fellow subjects in Canada, that recent events in various directions are making rapidly for the establishment of preferential trading relations within the Empire, a policy which you have so long and so earnestly advocated, and in the early attainment of which the largest share of the thanks of all concerned will be your unquestioned due.

I rely upon your not troubling at so busy a moment to answer this, and with every good wish, believe me, very sincerely yours,

JAMES LOWTHER.

Kensington Palace, W.,
April 29th, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Allow me to send you the best good wishes of the Princess and myself on the assumption of the post of Prime Minister. Your party is greatly to be congratulated that it has so strong a leader for the forthcoming electoral campaign, and it is a pleasure to me to hear that you feel yourself well and able to undertake so heavy a task after so many years of distinguished public labour.

You will be glad to learn that we have given Colmer the £500 for his essay, "Defence—not Defiance." The other £500 goes to a Mr. Ashton.

Colmer's essay is very able, and the only criticism I can make in it is that there may be a readjustment necessary if the details of some of his calculations in regard to the manner in which the nucleus of a Defence Fund may be raised.

Believe me, dear Sir Charles, with many kind messages from both of us to Lady Tupper.—Yours very sincerely,

LORNE.

293 *University Street,*
Montreal,
May 4th, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have not written to congratulate you on the due of the services, or on your position as Premier, because I feel that in some respects I should rather sympathise with you; but I cordially wish and pray for your success in the work you have undertaken, and hope it will result in delivering the Dominion from that conspiracy of men of opposite views and objects, which I feel can tend, if successful, only to injury and confusion.

I sincerely hope that the elections will show the good sense and right feeling of the country, and relieve the fears which are widely entertained by many thinking men.

My wife and I are purposing to leave about the end of May to be present at our son's marriage—a somewhat venturesome project, but which it seems to be our duty to attempt.

With all kind regards to you and Lady Tupper, in which my wife desires to join.—Yours sincerely,

J. Wm. Dawson.
(Sir W. Dawson.)

House of Commons,
May 8th, 1896.

My dear Sir Charles,—I must add one to the many letters of congratulation which you have received upon your becoming Premier of -the Dominion—a most proud position, and in your case most justly earned. Perhaps few in this country can speak more decisively of your work and ability than I can, as I joined the Colonial Office in 1867, helped to draw the Confederation Act, and have had the Dominion under my care or observation ever since.

I most heartily congratulate you, and I in like manner congratulate the Dominion upon your accession to Premiership.

No one can grudge you this last honour; at all events, there is one who does not—namely, Yours very truly,

Knutsford.

APPENDIX

I

REPORT OF A SPEECH BY SIR CHARLES TUPPER, Delivered at the First Sitting of the Canadian House of Commons, 1867.

(From the *Canadian News*, June 11th, 1868.)

MR. SPEAKER,—No member of this House can regret more sincerely than myself that my hon. friend who has just sat down occupies a position which prevents his great talents from being made available for the advancement of the common interest of the British North American Provinces now united under one dominion. All who have listened to the eloquent appeal just made to this House must feel how valuable would be the aid which the hon. member could give in promoting the union and consolidation of our common country at this important era in its history. I, sir, have from the first hour of my public life been an ardent advocate of the union of British North America under one government. Whether considered in relation to the position and progress of the whole Confederation or in reference to the Province of Nova Scotia, to which I belong, I have never doubted the advantage of union. Separated as those provinces were, with divers currencies and hostile tariffs, it was impossible that our commerce should ever attain the position that union would open up. The old Province of Canada, notwithstanding its immense territory and great natural resources, could never attain an important position while for five months in the year it was cut off from access to the ocean and compelled to communicate with the parent state through

a foreign country. The Maritime Provinces below, comparatively small and insignificant, could never hope to occupy a position of influence or importance except in connection with their larger sister Canada. The past history of that province has exhibited the most striking evidence on that point.

My hon. friend who has just addressed you denounced on the floor of our own Parliament the Reciprocity Treaty between British America and the United States, on the ground that, while it disposed of our most important commercial interests and ceded away the valuable fisheries of Nova Scotia, the Government of that province had not even the opportunity afforded them of expressing an opinion on a matter so vitally affecting their interests during the negotiation of that treaty. We have seen the credit of our bonds in the London market impaired by a struggle for power in the legislature of Canada, where we had neither voice nor influence. If, therefore, we were in our state of isolation powerless to protect our most material interests, which were disposed of without our being able to offer an opinion thereon, I ask my hon. friend if he does not think it desirable that the views and feelings of our province should be presented in the Parliament of a United British America?

No man can look at the geographical position of Nova Scotia without feeling that Providence intended that we should form the great highway of communication between not only the sister colonies behind us, but also a large portion of the Western States and the European world. Yet my hon. friend knows that after he had laboured with great ability for a quarter of a century to accomplish the construction of an Intercolonial Railway, every effort had failed, as it had become perfectly apparent that that great work could only be accomplished by the union of the two Canadas and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick under one Government. Not only has this great boon been secured for our province, but by the construction of the

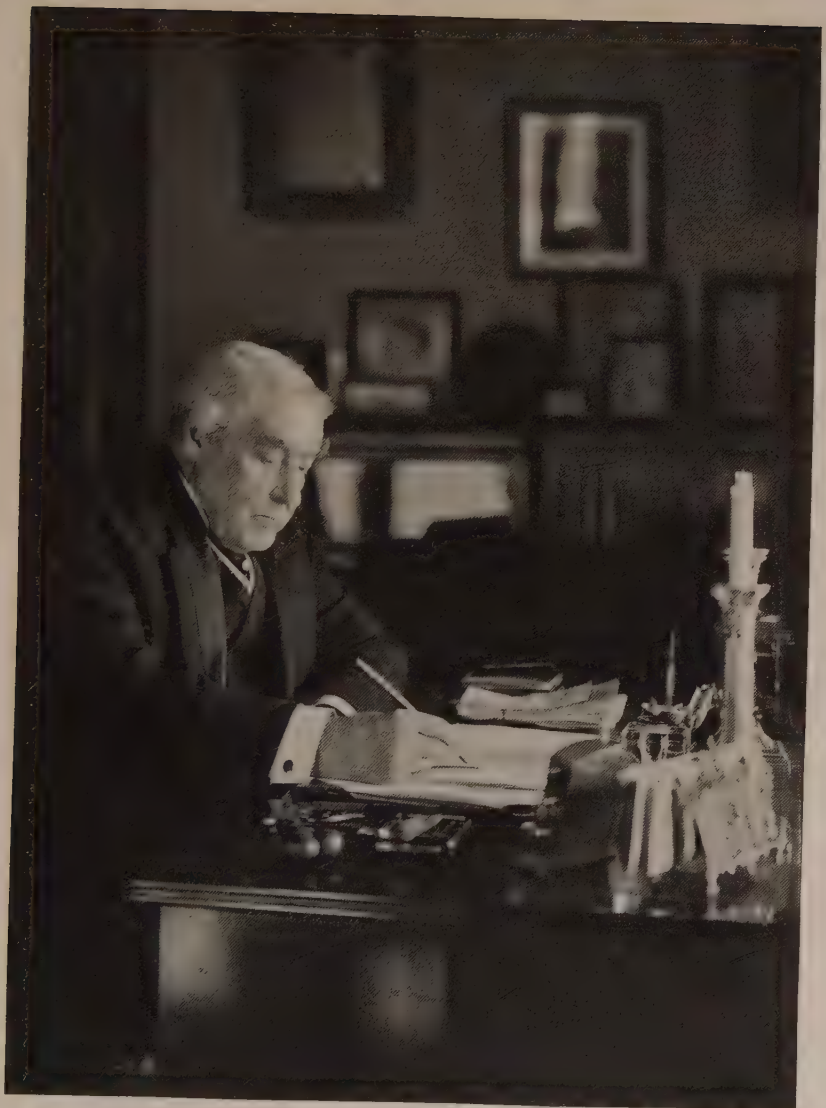
Western extension, from St. John to Bangor, already in progress, Nova Scotia must soon become the direct line of communication between London and New York.

It is impossible to examine the geological characteristics of Nova Scotia without seeing that Providence has given us all the elements of a great manufacturing industry. To say nothing of our valuable gold mines as a means of attracting population, a great portion of our province is enriched with vast deposits of iron, coal, and limestone, the minerals which have made England the emporium of manufactures for the world. Yet, with all this mineral wealth, it was obvious that without a union which would throw down the barriers to our manufacturing industry and open up commercial interest with our fellow colonists we must be content largely to forgo the great material advantages which nature had bestowed. Union has now given us a population of 4,000,000 instead of 400,000.

My hon. friend has spoken eloquently of the great importance of immigration as the true source of advancement for a country like ours, but it must be apparent to all that United British North America will be in a position to attract population, capital, and skill to a far greater extent than would be possible were we separate and isolated communities.

He has also described in glowing but not extravagant terms the immense value of the fisheries of Nova Scotia, yet I ask him, if United British America is unequal to the task of protecting that valuable public domain, how isolation was likely to accomplish such an object.

As regards the extension of our commerce, it is well known that the ablest politicians in all these colonies exhausted their best efforts in a vain effort to extend commercial intercourse between the different provinces. They failed because free trade involved the principle of union under one Government, which alone could secure a common tariff. If we wish to estimate what free trade with each other will do for us, we have only to look at its effects in



Photograph by Pictorial Agency

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B.
(JANUARY, 1914)

other countries. When the thirteen American States obtained their independence their territory was no greater than ours; they had a smaller trade, revenue, and population than British America has to-day. Their first act was to strike down the hostile tariffs which separated the provinces and open their country to unrestricted commercial intercourse from Maine to Mexico. The result was that their commerce developed with the utmost rapidity, until they soon became one of the most important commercial countries in the world.

Interprovincial union is no untried experiment. Contrast the condition of the two Canadas before and after the union. When separated by hostile tariffs and legislating against each other, the trade, revenue and credit of both Canadas were paralysed, but from the date of the union all was changed, and the country expanded with the most remarkable rapidity, until it obtained its present advanced position.

I have referred to the effect of union upon the progress and material interests of British America, but I admit frankly that there was one question that far transcended even those interests in importance, and that was the question of defence. The abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, notwithstanding the evidence which existed to show that it had been more beneficial to the United States than ourselves, indicated a wish to obstruct our trade with a view to induce a desire in these provinces for a political connection with that country. The Fenian raids upon the provinces also led to the belief that material aid might be found in British America by those who desired to change our allegiance to the Crown. To insure the most advantageous commercial intercourse with our American neighbours and protection from the harassing annoyance and expenditure connected with the mad designs of the Fenians, no better means could be adopted than to show the world that these hitherto isolated provinces were determined to stand shoulder to shoulder in the maintenance of our

connection with the Crown and those glorious and free British institutions which it has been our happiness to possess.

My hon. friend asks, with a sneer, where are we to obtain an army and navy, and endeavours to hold the Dominion of Canada up to the world as utterly defenceless and at the mercy of any Power who may wish to bring us beneath their yoke. My answer is, that there is a moral strength in our united attitude, which presents four millions of British freemen, devoted in their allegiance to the Crown and prepared to sustain each other in upholding the honour of their common country, which is the best guarantee for peace that we can have. But can my hon. friend be ignorant of the fact that the Imperial Government of Great Britain have pledged themselves to maintain the integrity of this Dominion with the whole power of the Empire against any assault, come from whom it may? Had we been unwise enough to set at defiance the earnest entreaty of the Mother Country to unite our fortunes with each other, that we might be better prepared to assist in maintaining our liberties, we might have had good reason to expect that the aid of that Government under whose fostering protection we have risen to our present position might be withdrawn.

My hon. friend forgets that as long ago as 1854 he declared that these provinces could put 500,000 men in the field and, unaided by British troops, bid defiance to an invader. Now he ridicules the idea of arming the population, and thinks we must fall a helpless prey to an enemy. I have no reason to doubt the entire friendship of the United States. I hope and believe that they will be anxious to resume the most reciprocal and friendly relations with these united provinces. But, Sir, I do not think that under any circumstances that country, so recently suffering from a calamitous war and oppressed by a gigantic debt, would attempt the subjugation of United British America, protected by the mightiest empire in the world. Having thus, Sir, glanced at some of the reasons which have induced

me to advocate a union of these provinces, I will briefly turn your attention to the position of Nova Scotia.

I admit frankly that the union party have been thoroughly and handsomely beaten at the recent general election, but I am happy to be able to relieve this House from the apprehension that an overwhelming majority of the people of that province are determined to obstruct and break down the union which has been formed. It is no new thing with us to have sweeping changes on such occasions. Only four years ago my hon. friend, notwithstanding his unrivalled popular talents, went to the polls with all the power of the Government, of which he was the head, in his hands, when he found himself beaten in one of his strongholds by a majority of over 500, and 13 only of his supporters out of a household of 55 members were elected.

The Government of which I had the honour to be the leader believed that they owed a higher duty to the country than the maintenance of themselves and their party in power. The measure brought in to extend the railway to Pictou on the St. Lawrence cost us the support of the Western members known as the Yarmouth School. The measure providing for the support of schools by direct and compulsory taxation, so obnoxious to all young countries, was sufficient of itself to drive any party from power, and would have swept us aside if the union had never been heard of. The Government were charged by their opponents with having sacrificed the interests of the fishermen to a Canadian policy to issue fishing licences, and those who have heard my hon. friend to-night can form some idea of the effect of his perambulating the country with fierce denunciations of that kind, and with our having taxed the bread of the poor man in the interests of Canada, because we believed it impolitic to free their flour from the duty imposed by the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty. The facts, however, remained that the fishing grounds of Nova Scotia were occupied by the fishermen of the United

States on payment of an insignificant charge, and a duty existed on American flour. This House can also imagine the consternation and dread excited in the back settlements of the country by the vivid and heartrending pictures drawn by my hon. friend of the youth and manhood of the country being taken from their homes to protect the interminable line of the Canadian frontier. While the people were told on the one hand that they must resort to direct taxation to sustain the local services of the country, Mr. Howe had everywhere asserted the statement made to-night, that the first effect of Confederation would be to increase the indirect taxation of the country 50 per cent. It would be no doubt gratifying to the House to know that the financial position of Nova Scotia was so good; but the Finance Minister, who had to find the money, would show the House that so far the Dominion had not made much out of that province. The truth was, that to complete the public works on her own responsibility she would have been obliged to largely reduce the expenditures for the leading services or increase her tariff to at least 15 per cent.

Then it must not be forgotten that the recent election was run under a franchise created by the Government of my hon. friend, and which came into operation for the first time at the last election. In addition to all this, the Government was obliged just before the dissolution to bring in a new Representation Bill in order to adapt the local Constitution to the new state of things under the union. We were thus compelled to reduce largely the representation of several counties, an act in itself extremely repulsive to the electors. The popular cry was raised that the union, irrespective of its merits, had been forced on the people in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner.

I need not, in this House I am sure, defend the mode in which the Union Act was carried by the Imperial Parliament, based upon the action of large majorities in the legislatures of all the provinces affected by that Act. Pitt

and Peel, and all the most eminent statesmen of England, have in the most unmistakable terms asserted the right of Parliament to deal with any question, constitutional or otherwise, which in their judgment the good of the country demanded. My hon. friend himself, and all the leading public men in Nova Scotia, had from time to time recorded their opinion in favour of the colonies being united precisely in the mode adopted in this instance. Yet unionists and anti-unionists alike were called upon to denounce the mode as an invasion of their rights, and punish those who carried the measure. Notwithstanding all these advantages in going to the polls, the House will be surprised to learn that my hon. friend Mr. Howe and his supporters failed to induce one-half of the electors of the province to go to the polls and record their votes in their favour. I have made the following calculation up with all the care in my power, and will be glad to submit my figures to the scrutiny of my hon. friend. The unionists contested all but three counties in the province. In those three I have given the unionists one-third and two-thirds to the other side. There are about 48,000 voters in the province. Of them about 10,000 did not go to the polls at all, and of the remainder about 15,000 voted for the union candidates and 22,500 for their opponents, giving them a majority of about 7,500 votes in all.

But, Sir, I am not prepared to admit that a majority of the electors have pronounced against the union or in favour of its repeal. Nay, more, Sir; I am prepared to show the House that my hon. friend himself, and many of his leading supporters, went to the country prepared to give this union a fair trial. My hon. friend (Mr. Howe) at a large meeting at Mason Hall, at Halifax, previous to the election, said: "Let us hope that they (the Canadians) will act justly. If they do, we should aid them to work the new system fairly"; and subsequently referring to the pledge then given, the hon. gentleman, in a letter addressed to the people of Canada

on June 18th last, over his own signature said: "I, having expressed my determination to bow to the paramount authority of Parliament and try the experiment, am not likely to be deterred by necessary forms," etc. Mr. Power, one of the members elected to represent the metropolitan constituency of Halifax in this Parliament, gave the following pledge to the electors in presence of his leader and colleague (Mr. Jones), who also represents the county of Halifax: "I will not detain you longer, but will conclude by saying that if you elect Mr. Jones and myself to the Dominion Parliament the interests of Nova Scotia will not suffer at our hands. We are charged with intending to countenance factious opposition. No such thing. We have certainly given the scheme a conscientious and consistent opposition, but are now disposed, if we go to Ottawa, and find it to work even moderately well, to let it have a fair trial." The hon. member for Guysborough, who led the opposition to union in the Nova Scotia Legislature at the last session on the ground that it had not been submitted to the electors, and who ably advocated those views, took a subsequent occasion to say on the floor of the House that now that the Imperial Act had become the law of the land, he was prepared to bow to its authority, and give his best aid to carry on the legislation of the country under the new circumstances in which we were placed. While Mr. Campbell, who made this statesmanlike and patriotic declaration, was returned by acclamation, Mr. Annand, who pledged himself to repeal, was defeated at the polls. I ask my hon. friend who has blamed the unionists so severely for acting without the question having been fairly submitted to the people, how he can, in the presence of facts like these, use the power he obtained for the purpose of endeavouring to destroy and break down this union before giving it that fair trial to which he stands pledged before the people? Can my hon. friend expect that the Imperial Parliament, who passed this Act with a petition against it, signed, according to

Mr. Annand's declaration, by "about 40,000 petitioners," break faith with this great confederation at the instance of representatives who only succeeded in polling about half that number of electors, and upon the pledge that they would give this measure a "fair trial"?

No man is in a worse position to urge objections to the mode in which this measure was passed than the hon. member who has just addressed the House, as it is well known that he spent years in advocating a system of responsible government by which the affairs of the country should be controlled according to the wishes of the majority of the people's representatives. What guarantee can my hon. friend give the Imperial Government that the same reaction will not take place in Nova Scotia that was witnessed in New Brunswick, where one year an overwhelming majority of the electors declared against the union and the next a still larger majority polled their votes in favour of it? I am not without hope, Mr. Speaker, that my hon. friend will yet consider his position on this question, and assume the same statesmanlike and patriotic position which the former opponents of union representing New Brunswick have taken. I read with great pleasure the manly declaration made by my hon. friend (Mr. Anglin) at Montreal the other night—a declaration that did honour to the head and the heart of that gentleman—that although he had been conscientiously opposed to the union, he was now prepared to give his aid to work it out in the manner best calculated to promote the good of our common country. Sir, I would rejoice to see my hon. friend from Nova Scotia in the same way assume a position that would enable the country to avail itself of the great ability he possesses. He says that the Government could not give him or those who act with him anything that he could honourably accept. It would, of course, be impossible for any Government to strengthen the hand of those who declare their intention to break down the Constitution of the country whenever they obtain the power. But my hon. friend

must see that his position renders it equally impossible for him to aid a constitutional opposition in the responsible and important Parliamentary functions they are called upon to discharge, as nothing would necessarily paralyse an opposition so completely as being associated with parties hostile to the existence of the integrity of the country and anxious to disintegrate it.

Under these circumstances, I put it seriously to my hon. friend whether the obligations which he has assumed by taking a seat in this Parliament do not bind him, at all events, to give that fair trial to the existing institutions of the country which the electors of Nova Scotia had a right to expect from his declarations previous to the election?

I make these observations from no apprehension that the union of these provinces can in the slightest degree be endangered by any course which the hon. member, or those who sustain him, may take, but in order to avert the evil to our common country, and especially to my own province, likely to result from this mischievous agitation for repeal.

My hon. friend says that he has been charged with disloyalty. Far be it from me to assail the reputation of any man except upon the clearest evidence, but when the delegates were charged with being traitors to their country, we felt it right to call attention to the striking fact that, while not a Fenian or annexationist or traitor could be found within our ranks, every man of that class openly proclaimed their sympathy with the opponents of union. Although this Confederation is entirely safe from the assaults of all, I cannot be indifferent to the injury that may be inflicted upon us among those who do not understand the question by such speeches as that delivered by the hon. member for Hants to-night. The avowed hostility to the union will encourage those who are anxious for our downfall, and the declaration by a member of this House that we are weak and defenceless will invite aggression.

No statement could be more unfounded and injurious than the assertion that the Mother Country wishes to get rid of us. It is true that neither in the Lords nor Commons of England, whose action on this question has been so severely criticised by my hon. friend, was any attempt made to change the measure as arranged between the representatives of these provinces and the British Government; but it is well known that no colonial question ever received more respectful attention at the hands of the statesmen, of the Parliament, and the Press of England than was bestowed upon this question of Confederation from the time that it was first brought under their notice until its final consummation. The effect of a settled and permanent condition of public affairs upon capital is well known, and while I feel confident that agitation will be utterly bootless of any result, it will, in the meantime, largely prevent the introduction, especially in Nova Scotia, of the population, capital, and skill that would otherwise immediately flow in to develop the resources and enrich that section of the union. I appeal to my hon. friend whether it is patriotic to inflict such injury upon his country?

Having made these explanations, I feel it would not be right at this late hour to trespass on the indulgence of the House, or I would read a few elegant extracts from the vigorous pen and eloquent tongue of my hon. friend to show how much more able and eloquent he was when advocating the union of these provinces than since he has adopted the unworthy policy of endeavouring to belittle and depreciate his own country.

I will now briefly notice a few of the criticisms which my hon. friend offered this evening. He complains that the salary assigned to the Governor-General is ten thousand pounds sterling. I think, if we contrast the salary formerly given to that high officer before the great step which the union of the Maritime Provinces has given to the former colony of Canada, the amount will not be found dispropor-

tionate. It must be remembered that this officer is the connecting link with the Crown and the representative of Her Majesty in this important part of the Empire, and that we could hardly expect to obtain the services of the leading statesmen of England at any smaller amount. My hon. friend complains of the number of departments in the Government. It was no doubt necessary in making provision for the proper representation of the different sections of the Confederation to have the thirteen departments, but I would suggest respectfully to the Hon. Minister of Justice whether, in the present peculiar position of Nova Scotia, the able and indefatigable Minister of State for Canada might not be charged with the additional duty of the Secretary of State for the Provinces. The vacancy created by the resignation of the Hon. Minister of Finance might in the same way lead to the consolidation of that department with those of the able and experienced Ministers of Customs and Excise. I am well assured that Her Majesty's Government will give these questions the most careful consideration, well knowing that nothing will give greater confidence to the country than a judicious economy in the administration of public affairs.

My hon. friend now represents our position as utterly defenceless, and treats with ridicule the proposal to arm the militia ; yet he ought not to forget the following passage of his speech in our Legislature so long ago as 1854 :—

" How often have we heard that our Republican neighbours were going to overrun the provinces ! They have attempted it once or twice, but have always been beaten out ; and I do not hesitate to say that the British Americans over whom the old flag flies are able to defend every inch of their territory, even though Her Majesty's troops were withdrawn.

" Taking our population at two millions and a half (it is now nearer four millions), every fifth person should be able to draw a trigger, giving 500,000 men capable of bearing arms. Such a force would be powerless as an

invading army, but in defence of these provinces, invincible by any force that could be sent from abroad."

The opinions of the hon. member would also appear to have undergone material change since 1863, when, in moving a vote of thanks at Halifax to the Hon. Mr. McGee for his eloquent advocacy of a union of the colonies, he thus urged its great importance on the ground of defence :—

"He thought a union should not be delayed till we had drifted into difficulties. How shortsighted were the English statesmen of old who lost them the thirteen States when the difficulty could have been arranged in a month, the horrors of the revolutionary war prevented, and all our race living at peace and harmony at present without the bickering and animosity which prevail in their midst. Talk of the fall of Quebec being a source of sorrow to the inhabitants of this province! It would be more. If the St. Lawrence were in the hands of our enemies we should be compelled to beg permission to tear down the British flag. What he wished for Nova Scotia was that she may be the frontage of a mighty colony upon which it may be truly said the sun never sets. No man can look upon Halifax and its environs, its harbour, its citadel, and say it was made for this province alone.

"The United States have drifted into a civil war; and we may drift into a tight place from which it may be difficult to extricate ourselves. The States may assail us; but if we had a railway by which troops could be sent from Quebec or other military stations to the threatened point, we would be saved."

I trust, Sir, that now that we have the moral strength arising from the union of these provinces and the assurance of support in any emergency from the Imperial Government, it will not be found necessary to burden our people with any oppressive taxation for defence; but my hon. friend should remember that when he was opposing this union of the colonies he presented a counter scheme for the defence of this country, under which all British America

would be compelled to pay into the Imperial Treasury for the support of the army and navy of England. This enormous taxation, far exceeding anything that we can be called upon here to contribute, was to be disbursed, under my hon. friend's scheme, by a Parliament in which Nova Scotia was to have two representatives and Canada four or five. My hon. friend, who has inspired such dread in the back settlements of Nova Scotia that the young men would be drafted to protect the helpless people of Ontario and Quebec, proposed to the British Government that in addition to this heavy taxation we should contribute our quota of the army required in any war in which Great Britain might be engaged.

In complaining of the mode in which the union measure passed the House of Commons, it was stated that the Commons was influenced by an inaccurate statement made by an hon. member of that body. As this refers to Mr. Watkin's remark that Confederation was made an issue at the polls at the last election, I am glad to have an opportunity to make an explanation. When Mr. Bright asserted that this question of union had not been before the people in Nova Scotia, Mr. Watkin left his seat and came over to the part of the House where I was sitting, near the Hon. Mr. Galt, who remembers well the circumstances. Mr. Watkin said: "Dear Tupper, I wish to speak to you," and I went with him some distance to the side of the room. He then said: "What is your answer to Mr. Bright's statement that this question has never been before the people?" I said: "The answer is this. In 1861 Mr. Howe, when leader of the Government, moved a resolution in favour of the union of the provinces which passed the Assembly unanimously. That previously to the last general election I had publicly advocated such a union as has now been agreed upon, and that I was brought into power, and this measure had been carried by a large majority of the present Parliament. Mr. Watkin, knowing that this question was now one of controversy, supposed that it had

been made an issue at the polls, as would undoubtedly have been the case only that we were all unanimous upon the question at that time. I turned to Mr. Galt during Mr. Watkin's speech and remarked how difficult it was to make parties understand when they were not familiar with the history of a question. Had I wished to mislead Mr. Watkin I would not have dared to do so, as I had placed in his hands a published history of the whole question in Nova Scotia. This House will, I am sure, exonerate Mr. Watkin from any intentional misrepresentation.

My hon. friend takes particular exception to that portion of the speech which indicates a desire for western extension. This is the more remarkable in connection with the great importance which he attaches, and justly, to immigration as the great means of rendering the country strong and prosperous. With 60,000 square miles of fertile soil in the Red River and Saskatchewan country to invite the immigrant and increase our population, this question of western extension becomes one of the greatest importance; but I will give you the forcible and eloquent observations of my hon. friend upon this subject as much more conclusive and instructing than anything I can afford.

"The Hudson's Bay territory includes 250,000 miles. Throwing aside the more bleak and inhospitable regions, we have a magnificent country between Canada and the Pacific, out of which five or six noble provinces may be formed larger than any we have, and presenting to the hand of industry and to the eye of speculation every variety of soil, climate, and resource. With such a territory as this to overrun, organise, and improve, think you that we shall stop even at the western bounds of Canada? Or even at the shore of the Pacific? Vancouver Island, with its vast coal measures, lies beyond. The beautiful islands of the Pacific and the growing commerce of the ocean are beyond. Populous China and the rich East are beyond; and the sails of our children's children will reflect as familiarly the sunbeams of the south as they now brave

the angry tempests of the north. The Maritime Provinces which I now address are but the Atlantic frontage of this boundless and prolific region—the wharves upon which its business will be transacted, and beside which its rich argosies are to lie. Nova Scotia is one of these. Will you, then, put your hands unitedly, with order, intelligence, and energy, to this great work? Refuse, and you are recreant to every principle which lies at the base of your country's prosperity and advancement; refuse, and the Deity's hand-writing upon land and sea is to you unintelligible language; refuse, and Nova Scotia, instead of occupying the foreground as she now does, should have been thrown back at least behind the Rocky Mountains. God has planted your country in the front of this boundless region; see that you comprehend its destiny and resources; see that you discharge, with energy and elevation of soul, the duties which devolve upon you in virtue of your position."

Allow me, in conclusion, Mr. Speaker, to thank the House for the kind and attentive hearing given to the discursive observations I have been able on the moment to offer in reply to the speech of my hon. friend.

II

REPORT of the Speech of HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., C.B., Minister of Finance, and one of Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries at the Washington Fishery Conference, on the FISHERY TREATY, delivered in the House of Commons of Canada, April 10th, 1888.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER moved the second reading of Bill (No. 65) respecting a certain treaty between Her Majesty and the President of the United States.

He said: Mr. Speaker, in rising to move the second reading of this Bill, I desire to say that if I had not on so many past occasions experienced the kind indulgence of both sides of the House, I should hesitate to undertake, in the present state of my health, bringing forward the very important subject it becomes my duty to lay before the House. I am glad to know, Sir, that the question of the protection of our fisheries, and of the results which have followed the course that was adopted by the Government and Parliament of Canada, has not been a party question. I am glad to know, Sir, that in approaching the very important subject that I am now submitting to the House I can rely on the patriotic consideration of this question by gentlemen on both sides of the House to whom it is thoroughly familiar, and who, on various occasions and in various capacities, have been called on in the past to deal with it. For more than a hundred years this question has been a source of irritation between the Imperial Government of Great Britain, the Government of the United States, and the people and Governments of

British North America. So long ago as 1783 a treaty was made between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States at Paris. Article 3 of that treaty provided:

"It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at time heretofore to fish; and also, that the inhabitants of the United States shall have the liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island), and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but as soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to cure or dry fish at such settlement, without a previous arrangement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors or possessors of the ground."

Now, I need not say to the House that the concession made to the people of the United States to enjoy, in common with British subjects, the fisheries of this country, was a treaty of a very extraordinary and abnormal character. I need not remind the House that the Treaty of Ghent, which was made between Great Britain and the United States at the termination of the war of 1812, is found to be entirely silent upon this subject, for the reason that the Government of Great Britain had arrived at the conclusion that it was impossible to permit the continuance of such an unwarranted interference with the rights of the people of British North America as had been enjoyed by the people of the United States under the treaty of 1783. The Government of the United States took the ground

that the treaty was not affected by the war. That position, however, was strongly controverted by Her Majesty's Government, and as the representatives of the United States Government had been instructed not to concede on the question of the fisheries, and the Government of Great Britain were equally inexorable on that point, the only course that could be adopted was to give the question the entire go-by. It therefore found no place in the treaty of 1812. The Government of Great Britain, however, acting on the principle that they had maintained—the principle which has come to be recognised throughout the world, that a war abrogates all treaties, and especially treaties of that character—asserted their rights in these territorial waters of British North America, and proceeded to seize fishermen of the United States for trespassing in these waters. The result of that course was the treaty of 1818, in which this question was again considered by the two Governments, and may I call attention to the terms of the principal article of that treaty, so far as the fisheries are concerned:

"Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry and cure fish on certain coasts, bays, harbours, creeks of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America, it is agreed between the high contracting parties that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have, for ever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland which extends from Cape Ray to the Ramea Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland; from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands; on the shores of the Magdalen Islands; and also on the coasts, bays, harbours and creeks, from Mount Joli, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belleisle, and thence northward, indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay Company; and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty, for ever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours and

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creeks of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland hereabove described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same, or any portion thereof, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground; and the United States hereby renounce, for ever, any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbours of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions in Canada not included within the above-mentioned limits: *Provided, however*, That the American fishermen shall be admitted to enter such bays or harbours for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, and for no other purpose whatever. But they shall be under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them."

Now, Sir, that treaty, which was made between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of the United States seventy years ago, has been the cause of constantly recurring irritation and difficulty between the two countries; and I need not remind the House that no portions of Her Majesty's Dominions have been so vitally and deeply interested in that question as those now known as the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Newfoundland. This treaty is very striking in two particulars. It gives the same territorial advantages, but to a very limited extent, over a certain portion of the Island of Newfoundland and what is now known as Canada, to the Government of the United States as were given under the treaty of 1783, and in return—for that unparalleled concession by any Government of one country to another—was secured the formal renunciation on the part of the Government of the United States of the liberty of their fishermen to enter on any other portion of the jurisdictional waters of what was then known as British North America

except for four specified purposes. Even the privileges enjoyed under those four specified purposes were distinctly declared to be subject to their use in such a manner as in no way to abuse the privileges thus granted. The adoption of this treaty was followed by the passage of laws on the part of the Imperial Government and also of the British North American Provinces for the purpose of giving it effect. Of course, although the treaty distinctly laid down the International law as between the two countries, special legislation was requisite in order to provide a means for carrying that treaty out and for enforcing its provisions on the part of Great Britain and on the part of British North America. The exclusion of the United States fishermen from the fishing grounds of British North America led again to collision and difficulty. Seizures were made. The old difficulties that had existed before the formation of the treaty were again called into activity by the presence of United States fishermen in our waters, and by the measures which were taken, especially by Great Britain, for the purpose of protecting the rights of the inhabitants of British North America. The result of these difficulties was the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. The firm stand taken by Her Majesty's Government, the firm position taken to protect the undoubted rights of her subjects in British North America, led to the adoption, in 1854, of what is known as the Reciprocity Treaty—a treaty which for twelve years removed all difficulties in connection with this question. On that occasion there was no attempt to limit, define, or interpret the points that had been raised in the controversy between the two countries, but they received their quietus, and all difficulties were removed for the time by the adoption of a policy of giving to the Provinces of British North America and Newfoundland certain commercial privileges by which the trade between this country and the United States was extended.

I may say that I took the opportunity, when deliver-

ing my speech on the financial condition of the country a year ago, to draw the attention of the House to the results of that treaty, and I will just call the attention of the House for one moment to a single extract in that speech, in which I referred to the trade results of what is known as the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. It will be found that the United States, during those twelve years, from 1854 to 1866, exported to British North America home products to the extent of $300,808,370 and foreign products to the extent of $62,379,718, the total exports to British North America being $363,188,088. The imports from the British Provinces into the United States during that period amounted to $267,612,131, showing a balance during the twelve years in favour of the United States of $95,575,957. That is to say, that they sent under the operation of that treaty into the British North American Provinces over $95,000,000 more than we sent into that country. I have often been at a loss to know how any person in the United States, and much less how any person in Canada, could disparage that treaty, or could speak of it as a one-sided treaty, altogether in favour of British North America, and not equally in favour of the United States.

So far as what is known as Canada is concerned, we know that the trade of our country took a very great bound, and that the result of the Reciprocity Treaty was to give a very sudden and great and steadily continued impetus to our trade with the United States; but, as I said before, the result was to give a still further expansion of trade to the United States in relation to British North America. I am glad, after spending some three months at Washington, to be able to say that I had very intimate intercourse with gentlemen of different politics, holding high positions in the Senate and House of Representatives; that I took many opportunities of discussing this question with them, and that the result is that I did not find one statesman in the United States who expressed his satisfaction with the termination of that treaty. I believe the general

expression in that country is that, commercially, it was a mistake to have terminated that treaty, and that it would have been infinitely better for the United States and for Canada if it had been continued. That treaty was not abrogated on commercial grounds. It was not in consequence of any commercial reasons that the abrogation took place, but it was, as is well known, in consequence of an unhappy sentiment which grew up in the United States, that, during the time of the Civil War which rent that country asunder, the sympathies of the British North American Provinces were very strongly with the South. I think there is a very great reason to question the soundness of that opinion. Although from the nature and position of our country, being neutral territory, advantage was taken of it by the Southerners, by those who were engaged in carrying on that war from the South, to make Canada a basis of operations, the Government of Canada never showed the slightest favour, but took every means in their power to prevent British North America being made use of in that struggle. I think, if the records of the United States were examined, it would be found that ten Canadians, or ten British North Americans, fought in the ranks of the Northern side for every one who fought on the Southern side. . . . I scarcely know of any aid being given to the South, while we know that at this moment the Government of the United States are paying a large sum of money to persons who were British subjects then and are British subjects now, in Canada, for their services during that war. Taking that as the best test that the country can show as to where its sympathies were, as far as the most substantial and important kind of aid could be found, it will be seen that British North America rendered a great deal more support and assistance to the North than to the South. Now, I may say that the treaty of 1854 removed for twelve years all these difficulties, but, unfortunately, from the causes to which I have alluded I believe to a large extent, a misapprehen-

sion of the true facts of the case led to that treaty being abrogated. Both parties in this country, both parties in the various provinces—because it was before the Union of Canada—regretted that abrogation. I believe there was not a province in what is now the Dominion of Canada that did not make every exertion first of all to avoid the abrogation of that treaty, and, after it was abrogated, to endeavour to have it or something equivalent to it restored at as early a period as possible. But those efforts were unsuccessful, and then, and while these efforts were being continued, as hon. gentlemen opposite know, Canada resorted to a system of licences to prevent too sharp an interference with the long-accustomed habit of United States fishermen of fishing in the waters of British North America. We adopted a mode of endeavouring to prevent collision and difficulty. While there might be any hope of our being able to settle this question by a recurrence to something like the treaty of 1854, every effort was made by the adoption of licences to remove irritation and prevent collision of every kind, in order to favour, as far as possible, the solution of the question in that way; but ultimately we were obliged to fall back on the principle of protecting our fisheries; we were obliged to adopt such measures as the fishermen had a right to expect at our hands; being excluded from the American market by high duties, having their calling very seriously interfered with, they had a right to demand at the hands of the Government and the Parliament of Canada that measures should be taken for the protection of the rights which they undoubtedly enjoyed, and which, under the treaty of 1818, had been settled in what one would suppose was as clear and concise and emphatic a manner as it was possible for any question to be settled. The result was that seizures were again made, and the American fishermen, encroaching upon the waters of British North America, found themselves again in difficulties. The consequence was, as you all know, that in 1871 a new treaty was made,

and I have often thought of the old adage, that "everything comes to him who waits," when I have thought of the manner in which my right hon. friend on my left was attacked in this House and out of it, in connection with the Washington Treaty, and the satisfaction he must have experienced when, after the treaty had been in operation for ten years, there was not a single public man in Canada but was ready to do everything possible to maintain and continue that very treaty. On that occasion, as hon. gentlemen know, my right hon. friend made the same effort to settle this question upon the lines that had been adopted in 1854; the effort was to obtain from the United States, instead of a money payment for the privileges which their fishermen were anxious to enjoy in the waters of Canada, such an expansion of commercial intercourse between the two countries as would meet the wishes of the people of Canada, and be a settlement that would commend itself to the judgment and approval of everybody. That effort, however, was not successful; and when the treaty was presented for consideration to this House, I remember well when hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House felt it their duty to criticise very severely that treaty, and we were compelled, in self-defence, to say something in its support. I remember very well appealing to hon. gentlemen opposite, as I shall appeal to them to-day, not to press the Government unduly to show to Parliament and to show to the country the advantages that were obtained by the Washington Treaty of 1871. One of the conditions of the treaty was that an International arbitration should take place at Halifax for the purpose of ascertaining the greater value of the fisheries of Canada to the people of the United States over and above the remission of the duty on fish and the corresponding right to fish in their waters so as to arrive at the amount that should be paid by the United States to Canada. I appealed to hon. gentlemen opposite on that occasion not to compel us, in self-defence, to show that the treaty which had been

signed was one advantageous to Canada, not to compel us to take such strong grounds as would be used against us when that arbitration, at a subsequent time, should take place. Well, Sir, I am sorry to say that my appeal on that occasion was not as successful as I trust it will be on this occasion; I am sorry to say that we were forced to make some very strong and very clear statements to the House in justification of my right hon. friend for putting his name to the Washington Treaty of 1871. Well, just as I expected, and nobody knows better than the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Jones), who sits opposite—for this arbitration took place in the city where he lives—no person knows better than himself that one main element of the United States case was the production of the very speeches which we had been compelled to make on the floor of this House in defence of that treaty. Every word that we uttered on that occasion was used to our disadvantage and to our detriment. I will not say that it was very successfully used, because I do not think that Canada has any right to complain of the amount that was awarded on that occasion—$5,500,000 for the period during which the treaty was to last, for the benefits derived by the people of the United States over and above those which were conceded by removing the duties on fish. Many persons have said, Sir, that we were not only successful in that arbitration, but that we were too successful; that, in fact, the award that was made was the main reason why the United States took the earliest possible moment to denounce that treaty and to terminate it. I do not believe, myself, that the award was too great. I believe it is almost impossible to over-estimate the advantages of enjoying the fisheries that, unfortunately for us, are contained in the jurisdictional waters of Canada. But, unfortunately, that treaty was abrogated. And, Sir, I must, in passing, pay my tribute to the hon. member for East York (Mr. Mackenzie), who at that period led the Government of this country. It is well known that that hon

gentleman, in the discharge of what he conceived to be, and what undoubtedly was, the duty that he owed to Canada in the high position he occupied, adopted measures to prevent that question of money ever being over considered. The hon. gentleman sent one of his colleagues, or, if not one of his colleagues at the time, a gentleman belonging to his party, of great ability and of great attainments, the late Hon. George Brown—he sent him to Washington to co-operate with the British Minister at Washington, and once more a strenuous effort was made to settle this question of the greater value of our fisheries over those of the United States, and over the advantages to be derived from having an opportunity of entering our fish free in the American market; I say, he obtained the appointment by Her Majesty's Government of the Hon. George Brown as a plenipotentiary, and that gentleman exhausted every effort in his power to carry out the views of the hon. member for East York, and again revive the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. As that treaty had been refused on a former occasion, he went further than the lines of that treaty, and by introducing a certain number of articles to be passed free between the two countries, as well as the natural products of the two countries, he endeavoured to enlarge and expand what had been obtained by the treaty of 1854. I believe there was not a single item that was free under the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 that the Hon. Mr. Brown did not embody in the treaty which he signed as to be made free between Canada and the United States, under the treaty of 1874, which draft treaty was arrived at between the two Governments. As I said before, and as I said the other day, I feel that it is only right, in passing, to say, that the effort to obtain the freest possible commercial intercourse between Canada and the United States, consistent with the rights and interests of the two Governments, is a policy that does not belong to one party only, but it is the property of both parties in this country. The hon. member for

East York showed his hearty appreciation of the value of such a policy, when he was leading the Administration, just as much as my right hon. friend showed it on the occasion of going to Washington, in 1871, and on all and every occasion when that question has come up for consideration. But the Senate rejected that treaty, or, at all events, did not take it up, and consequently we were thrown back upon arbitration; and I think it is a matter of sincere gratification, and always will be to the people of Canada, to know that after the most careful and painstaking examination, after taking all the sworn testimony that could be adduced on the side of the United States, and by Canada, and after the most careful consideration of that testimony, and the fullest consideration of the whole question, that International Commission awarded no less than $5,500,000, or something approaching $500,000 per annum, as the value of the fisheries of Canada over and above those of the United States and the additional advantage of a free market in the United States for the fish of Canada. Now, Sir, under these circumstances, that treaty of 1871 was abrogated on July 1st, 1885. But I must do the Government of the United States the credit to say that they seemed to be equally impressed with the Government of Canada as to the importance of avoiding the difficulties and collisions that were likely to arise out of the abrogation of that treaty, and as those difficulties were likely to again present themselves a measure was arranged jointly between the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain, on behalf of the Government of Canada, for the purpose of endeavouring to prevent those difficulties again presenting themselves. Past experience had shown both countries how exceedingly undesirable it was to have men like the fishermen of the two countries, who were away from home, who were not under such easy control as persons on land are, carrying out measures the end of which it might be very difficult to foresee; and at the suggestion of the British Minister,

Mr. Bayard, then and now the distinguished Secretary of State of the United States, entered into a temporary arrangement whereby American fishermen were allowed the privileges of the treaty during the remainder of the season—that is, the season of 1885—with the understanding that the President should bring the question before Congress at its next session and recommend a joint commission by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to consider the question "in the interest of good neighbourhood and friendly intercourse between the two countries, thus affording a prospect of negotiating for the development and extension of trade between the United States and British North America." I use Mr. Bayard's words. The Government of Canada most readily assented to this view, and true to the policy that had been invariably pursued on both sides of this House, that of doing everything possible to promote trade relations between the two countries and to remove difficulties connected with the fisheries, the Government at once agreed that if the President would send to Congress a recommendation for the appointment of a commission having such objects in view, they would allow the American fishermen to have the same free access to the fisheries of Canada as they had enjoyed during the continuance of the treaty. President Cleveland, keeping good faith with the Governments of Great Britain and Canada, sent a message to Congress on December 5th, 1885, premising that:

"In the interests of good neighbourhood and of the commercial intercourse of an adjacent community, the question of the North American fisheries is one of much importance."

He recommended a commission:

"Charged with the consideration and settlement, upon a just, equitable, and honourable basis, of the entire question of the fishing rights of the two Governments."

Unfortunately, the Senate did not approve the recommendation. The fishermen of Gloucester, who naturally,

I suppose, confined their attention to their own interests, and regardless of the effects of the course they proposed to pursue, at once petitioned Congress in the most earnest manner against any such proposal. They declared that they did not want to have anything to do with the fishing grounds or the waters of Canada, and they induced the Senate to reject the proposal by a vote of thirty to ten, and the proposal was rejected accordingly. We were then thrown back, necessarily, upon the only means of protecting the rights and interests of Canada. I may say that a very mistaken apprehension has arisen from the continuous exertions of all parties and classes in this country to obtain reciprocal trade relations with the United States. The policy of obtaining the free interchange of the natural products of the two countries, the products of the sea, of the forest, of the farm, and of the mine, as I have said, has been continuously the policy of both parties in this country, and they have pressed that in season and out of season upon our great neighbours to the south of us. And that, unfortunately, has led to a very erroneous impression. When my hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries was compelled to adopt the same policy his predecessor had adopted under like circumstances, and took such measures as were absolutely necessary and indispensable for the protection of the rights and interests of the fishermen of Canada, the United States complained bitterly. Difficulties again took place. Fishermen, perhaps, are the most intractable and uncontrollable people in the world, and when a fisherman gets on board his little smack he thinks he is monarch of all he surveys, and he can go where he pleases, and do what he pleases. The result was that, as before, collisions occurred. Those parties brought themselves under the operation of the law, and it was absolutely necessary, as I have said, in defence of the rights of Canadian fishermen, to make examples of those parties who showed that disregard for the law. The result was an entirely erroneous impression grew up throughout the United States. It

was shared by the Government—by the Senate, by the House of Representatives. It was accepted by the great body of the people; and the Press and the people of the United States, almost without exception, came to that conclusion, without a particle of ground to justify it, that Canada was enforcing a most harsh, ungenerous, and unwarrantable construction of the terms of the treaty of 1818, for the purpose of forcing reciprocal trade relations upon the United States. Hon. gentlemen opposite know that this became a universal sentiment in that country. One can understand the mass of the people in the United States sharing such an impression. People said, and at the outset it seems a reasonable proposition: "Why is it that the fishermen of the United States of America cannot obtain the same consideration in a Canadian port that a Canadian fisherman obtains in the United States ports?" Well, Sir, the answer is obvious. The American Government renounced the right to enter our waters, as England and Canada never did renounce the right to enter the waters of the United States of America. The United States, in consideration of certain territorial rights over a portion of our country, in a part of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Magdalen Islands, and in consideration of containing such territorial rights as I believe are unparalleled in the world in any other country, renounced for ever the right of their fishing vessels of any kind whatever to come into the jurisdictional waters of Canada or British North America, as it was then called, except for specified purposes, and then under such terms and conditions as would prevent them abusing the exceptional privileges which the treaty allowed. This is obvious, but you cannot make the mass of the people understand it, and it is astonishing how many men of standing and position in the United States seem never to have grasped the fact that the fishermen of the United States occupy an entirely different position in the waters of Canada from that which the fishermen of Canada occupy in the waters of the United States. This

was not done by any act of the Government of this country, but one can see, Sir, how easy it is that the mass of the people, not understanding those terms, not understanding the character of this treaty, and not understanding the obligations which the Government of the United States had taken in regard to this question, should be misled. Then, Sir, another difficulty arose, and that was with reference to the rights that those fishing vessels should enjoy when in our waters. It was claimed by the Government of the United States, in 1818, that as no commercial vessel could come into the waters of British North America from the United States, that there was no intercourse, that those were privileges given to the fishing vessels by that treaty beyond anything that was enjoyed by any other class of vessels. And when a changed condition of things came about, when the commercial arrangement of 1830 had, as they contended, entirely changed the status of their fishing vessels in our waters—since, as they said, under that commercial arrangement it was provided that their trading vessels could enter freely the ports of British North America and our trading vessels could enter their ports—as there was no exemption or exclusion of fishing vessels, they claimed that rights had been acquired by the fishing vessels that entirely took them out of the category of the treaty of 1818, under which they were restricted from going into our waters for any but the four purposes. I think, Sir, that that contention, upon examination, proves to be entirely unfounded. I do not think it would be possible for any constitutional lawyer to maintain that proposition for a single moment. The arrangement of 1830 was a commercial arrangement, founded upon an Act of Congress, on the one side authorising the Government of the United States whenever the King in Council would admit United States vessels to the Bermudas, the Caicos, and the British West Indies; that whenever the King in Council would, by proclamation, admit their vessels to these ports, they would admit our vessels in the same way to theirs. It was,

therefore, a bilateral arrangement, entered into and based upon an Act of Congress, on proclamation made by the President, and upon the Order in Council made by the King. Now, Sir, the treaty is a superior instrument to that Order in Council, and that Order in Council is silent as to fishing vessels. The treaty solemnly declared that the people of the United States renounced for ever the right to claim for a fishing vessel any such commercial privileges whatever. And under those circumstances it is a principle in law, constitutional as well as general law, and I believe accepted by all countries, that you cannot repeal and change and alter a specific provision. The general terms as to vessels in the commercial arrangement had been subsequently provided as to such specific provision. The general terms as to vessels in the commercial arrangement of 1830 and the absence of any reference to fishing vessels, left fishing vessels in exactly the same position as they were before. But, Sir, that was not the only ground. It was also claimed that in the Washington Treaty of 1871, to which my right hon. friend was a party, there was a bonding clause, and that this bonding clause provided that the United States vessels were authorised to tranship their cargoes in bond in the same way that Canadian vessels were allowed to tranship their cargoes in bond through the United States. But again, Sir, not only was there no reference made to fishing vessels being relieved from the renunciations of the Government of the United States under the treaty of 1818, but there was the fact —as hon. gentlemen opposite, many of whom watched this matter at Halifax, well know—that when this question was raised and the representative of Canada said: "You are enjoying privileges here in the transhipment of fish under the treaty, and you are enjoying the advantage of buying bait and supplies of all kinds for your fishermen under this treaty, and you must consider what is due to the Government of Canada for those privileges which you enjoy"—I say, Sir, there was the fact that Mr. Foster, acting as

the Agent of the Government of the United States, moved a resolution declaring that under the Washington Treaty, the Government of the United States had no such right and no such privilege to tranship a cargo of fish or buy bait or supplies of any kind whatever. Although during the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 it had been freely permitted by the Government of Canada during the twelve years that treaty was in force, they declared that under clause 29 of the Washington Treaty, as it stands there to-day, and under which this right is claimed, that they had no such privileges before the fishery clause was removed from that treaty, as it was by its abrogation. Therefore I say that when this matter comes to be examined, the House will see the position we occupy; the House will also see the difficult position we were in, with the public mind of the United States inflamed by a misapprehension on this question. When we had the Government and Congress of the United States acting as one man in relation to this question, it will be at once appreciated how difficult and how serious this matter had become. Although we were not giving an ungenerous or an extreme interpretation to the treaty at all, but were simply doing that which my hon. friend opposite found it necessary to do, as did his successor, that is, to defend the just rights of the fishermen of Canada—and no Government would be worthy of the name who would shrink for a single moment from that duty—the result was that because we took this action the sentiment of public men in the United States became inflamed, and instead of thinking of anything like increased freedom of commercial intercourse or of anything that was calculated to be of advantage or benefit to the two countries, they had recourse to the passage of what was called a "Retaliatory Act." It was not a Retaliatory Act, but it was a Non-intercourse Act, based upon an entire misapprehension of the position of the two countries and of the question in relation to them. And as I said a year ago when standing here, it was an Act that

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THE MOUNT, BEXLEY HEATH, SIR CHARLES TUPPER'S ENGLISH HOME

was entirely uncalled for. Well, Sir, I then took the opportunity of drawing the attention of this House at some little length to the position in which we stood in relation to that Non-intercourse Act. I said that it was the only cloud on the commercial horizon of Canada, and I pointed out the unwarrantable character, as I considered it, of the Act. I pointed out that it seemed to be founded on an entire misapprehension of what the position of Canada was in relation to this question. I was very severely criticised—if not by hon. gentlemen opposite, who are always extremely indulgent to me—by the Press representing them, for that speech. It was stated to be a very offensive speech, and to have a tone that was calculated to be extremely irritating to the Government of the United States, and two or three leading and prominent newspapers in this country have from that day to this asserted that here, in my place in Parliament, I declared that non-intercourse would be a very good thing for Canada. Well, Sir, as I dare say you know, I do not often correct statements made in the Press, however much they may misrepresent what I say or do; but I may here take the opportunity of saying that no man can read the speech I delivered on that occasion and find any foundation whatever for any such statement. I did state that it would become the imperative duty of the Government of Canada, in vindication of the rights of our fishermen, to adopt the policy of protecting our fisheries. I stated that there was no warrant for such an Act as had been passed in the United States; and as the best means of protecting ourselves against the effects of a policy so unjust and so injurious to everybody —detrimental to the interests both of the United States and Canada—I pointed out that, fortunately for Canada, we had attained a position that did not leave us so entirely at the mercy of our neighbours to the south of us as we should otherwise have been. I pointed out that the construction of the Canadian Pacific and of the Inter-colonial Railways had given the people of Canada means for the

free intercourse of one province and one part of our people with another without their being forced to go through the United States of America. I used language as strong, I think, as could be used to show the opinion I had of such an Act when I said :

" Deeply as we would deplore so mad and so unjustifiable an act on the part of a great country like this great Republic of the United States adopting such a barbarous policy as that of non-intercourse with a friendly power, we stand in the proud position of knowing that if that policy were adopted to-morrow, we have perfected our own lines of communication, and have the most complete means of communication from the furthest and most remote section of our country down to the sea."

I think, Sir, that that was calculated to show that we had to a certain extent protected ourselves from the ruinous position we should have been placed in if we had not those means of inter-communication ; and I do not think that was inviting non-intercourse or intimating that it was a policy of which I approved. I said further :

" Non-intercourse would not be an unmixed evil. I would deeply deplore any interruption of the commercial relations which exist between this country and the United States, but I cannot forget that, if the policy of non-intercourse were adopted, it would lead to the development of those channels of communication between ourselves."

In another place I said :

" While I earnestly hope no such policy will be adopted."

I thus call attention for a moment in passing to the language I then used in order to show that I was not guilty of the supreme folly that I would have been guilty of if I had spoken of non-intercourse between sixty millions of people of the United States of America and five millions on this side of the line as anything but what every intelligent Canadian would deplore, as I think every intelligent American ought to deplore it. But, Sir, I will just say that this speech does not seem to have been attended with very unpleasant

results that some people in this country feared, who thought it adopted too defiant a tone for a small people like the people of Canada, and was calculated to exasperate our neighbours and bring about those unfortunate results. All I can say is that those remarks received a very considerable amount of attention in the Press of the United States. Some portions of them appeared in leading journals in the United States; and the result was, Sir, that instead of having any reason to suppose that I had been guilty of an indiscreet act in making the references which I felt, as a member of this House, I was bound to make in dealing with the position in which the country stood, the only result, so far as I am aware, was this: I do not know that the speech had any connection with it; but I know this, that a mutual friend—I have no objection to mentioning that it was Mr. Wiman—at an early day after this speech was delivered, intimated to me that he had had a long conversation with the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Bayard, and that that gentleman had said that he would be very glad to have an opportunity of discussing the mutual relations of Canada and the United States with either my right hon. friend the Premier of Canada or myself. I brought that statement under the notice of His Excellency the Governor-General and my right hon. friend; and as it was quite impossible for him to leave his place in Parliament at that time, I took advantage of the Easter holidays to accept this informal invitation. I went down to Washington, and was presented to Mr. Bayard by Her Majesty's Minister there. Our conversation on that occasion, as you are aware, was personal and private, but the House will be able to gather what the effect of that conversation was when I refer to the result. It was on May 21st that I had that interview with Mr. Bayard, and I can only say that it was a very gratifying one in every possible respect. That distinguished gentleman seemed fully to appreciate what he owed to the great country in which he filled the high function of Secre-

tary of State, and showed also his appreciation of the importance of maintaining the most friendly commercial relations with Canada. I am relieved, however, from any violation of secrecy in regard to that interview in view of the correspondence which occurred. Mr. Bayard told me that he would repeat our conversation to the President of the United States, and would communicate to me the result at an early day. On May 31st I received a letter with which hon. gentlemen are all familiar. I will not trouble the House with reading the whole of it; but it is necessary, in order to give a proper view of the basis of the conference from which this treaty has resulted, that I should draw the attention of the House to some of the remarks made by Mr. Bayard in that letter.* The result you know. I will read, in order to place the House in full possession of the exact state of affairs, an extract from Mr. Bayard's to Mr. Phelps, the American Minister in London:

"The visit here of Sir Charles Tupper, on behalf of the Canadian Government, was received with cordiality, and expressions were exchanged with a mutual desire for the settlement of all existing difficulties, and for the increased freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada. In consequence of the statement made by Sir Charles Tupper on the occasion referred to, I wrote him a personal and unofficial letter on May 31st, and received on June 10th his reply, and copies of this correspondence were duly sent to you. Yesterday, Sir Lionel West handed me, without comment, the following copy of a telegram to him from Lord Salisbury:

> 'If the Secretary of State will formally propose the appointment of a commission as suggested by him in his correspondence with Sir Charles Tupper, Her Majesty's Government will agree with great pleasure.
>
> 'SALISBURY.'

"And I have just telegraphed you to the following effect:

* This correspondence is printed *in extenso* in chap. ix of this volume.

"'Phelps, Minister, London.

"'Sir Lionel West handed me yesterday a telegram from Lord Salisbury agreeing to the negotiation suggested by him informally in correspondence with Sir Charles Tupper after his visit to this capital, and requesting me to make a formal proposal which will be forwarded to you at once. "'BAYARD.'"

I intend to read but two other extracts as the only parts of this correspondence which are pertinent to the subject:

"The number of plenipotentiaries to be employed on either side does not seem to be immaterial to the object in view. The treaty of 1854 comprehended the same class of questions substantially, and, as I have before remarked in my correspondence with you, was negotiated by the Earl of Elgin, at that time Governor-General of Canada, and Mr. Wm. L. Marcy, then the Secretary of State for the United States. By referring also to our prior treaties with Great Britain, it will be found that the number of plenipotentiaries employed on either side varied, and was frequently unequal."

He further said:

"It is regarded by the President as of the highest importance that a distinct and friendly understanding should without delay be arrived at between the United States and Great Britain touching the question of the rights which belong respectively to the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty in relation to the fisheries on the coasts of the British possessions in North America, and as to any other questions which affect the trade and commercial relations between the United States and those possessions. You are, therefore, instructed to propose to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the appointment of an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, to meet in the city of Washington a Minister Plenipotentiary of the Government of the United States, duly authorised by the respective Governments to treat and discuss the mode of settling all questions which have arisen out of the fisheries on the coasts of British North America, and all other questions affecting the relations

between the United States and Her Britannic Majesty's possessions in British North America."

The House, having heard those extracts, will at once understand the circumstances under which this conference was brought about and plenipotentiaries appointed on both sides. Her Majesty's Government appointed the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain as leader of the conference on the British side; they appointed Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, Sir Lionel Sackville West, as the second plenipotentiary. The Colonial Minister sent a dispatch to Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General of Canada, to say that the British Government wished the Government of Canada to say who would be acceptable as representing the Government of Canada at this conference, and it is only right to my right hon. friend (Sir John A. Macdonald) that I should say that they intimated, as it was very naturally to be expected they would, that the appointment to that position of the same distinguished gentleman who had acted as a Joint High Commissioner in 1871 with such ability and success would be entirely acceptable to Her Majesty's Government. I came out to Canada without the slightest idea whatever that I would be appointed in connection with this commission. I returned here after having discharged in London the duties which were incumbent on me and which I had been called upon to perform. Immediately my right hon. friend told me that he was anxious that I should go to Washington as the third plenipotentiary, Lord Lansdowne was good enough to join in expressing his desire that I should fill that position. I dare say, if the truth were known, my right hon. friend here thought that, having had so much to do with the negotiation of this conference, and representing, as I had the honour of representing in the Government of Canada, the interests of one of the most important of the Maritime Provinces, the Province of Nova Scotia, there was a certain fitness in my being called upon to discharge this duty. I thought that, under the circumstances, I

could not decline, but I made it a condition that I should have the able and invaluable assistance of my colleague, the Minister of Justice, as the legal adviser of the British side at this conference, as I knew that matters of the greatest importance would arise in which the opinions and the advice and the legal and constitutional knowledge of that hon. gentleman would be invaluable. With the utmost readiness, that hon. gentleman at once consented to associate himself with me in that capacity, and I must at the same time tender my heartfelt thanks to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, whose province I was to a certain extent apparently invading, for the very zealous and hearty and valuable co-operation which his intimate knowledge of that subject enabled him to give us. I take this opportunity of saying that a statement which has been made by public leading journals in this country in reference to my position on that occasion is erroneous. A good deal of sympathy has been expressed for me. I have already mentioned the great kindness which I have received even from my opponents, but an amount of sympathy has been extended to me which I must disavow having any occasion for. A great deal has been said and a great deal of sympathy has been expressed as to the unfortunate position in which Sir Charles Tupper found himself in Washington in battling on the one side for the rights of Canada, and finding the pressure of Her Majesty's Government on the other side ; and that, in fact, I was compelled, by the strong line which was taken by Her Majesty's representative, Mr. Chamberlain, to yield and surrender what it must have cost me a great deal of pain and suffering to do. I would be unworthy of the position I occupy in this House if I did not at once disavow anything of the kind. I do not think it would have been possible for Her Majesty's Government to have made a better or a more judicious selection than they did in Mr. Chamberlain as the leader of the British side in that conference. That hon. gentleman is one of the foremost statesmen in England ;

that right hon. gentleman, as the House very well knows, as the leader of the Radical party in Great Britain was perhaps especially qualified, by the position he occupied in Imperial politics, to be an acceptable envoy to the United States of America; and, after three months of very intimate intercourse and association in the city of Washington, I have no hesitation in saying that I do not believe it would have been possible for Her Majesty's Government to select any gentleman who would have been more acceptable to all parties in that great capital. In regard to my own position in that conference, I have already shown the House how largely I am responsible for what has taken place. The conference was initiated from the interview which took place between myself and Mr. Bayard. I was subsequently asked to serve as one of Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries on that important mission; but I am bound to say that if, instead of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Lionel Sackville West, I had had as my colleagues two of the foremost statesmen of Canada, taken from either side of the House, it would have been impossible to have had the contentions of Canada more uniformly supported than they were from the beginning to the end. If there is any mistake, if this treaty is not what Canada had a right to expect it should be, I am bound to say that there is no man more responsible for that than myself. These hon. gentlemen, from the beginning to the end, stood by the interests of Canada in the most unflinching way. I have heard, in this House and out of this House, that it was desirable that the time should come when Canada could appoint her own plenipotentiaries and envoys to deal with the negotiation of treaties, but I speak from experience and from a knowledge of the facts when I say that a greater mistake it would be impossible to conceive. In the position which Canada occupies, great and important as it is, and with the great future we have undoubtedly before us in the development of the enormous resources of this country,

while the time may come when we will be in a position which will enable us to go into an international conference with that power and influence which alone will qualify a plenipotentiary to negotiate effectively with other countries, until that time comes it is impossible to overrate the value of having the Empire of Great Britain behind us. A plenipotentiary is able to command, when he is fighting a keen and hard battle for his country, just that amount of influence and power which that country commands among the States of the world; and I say that, until we obtain that influence and that power, nothing would be more detrimental or suicidal to the best interests of Canada than to divest ourselves of the potent influence of standing under the ægis of the mightiest Empire in the world. Now, I must say a single word with reference to my colleagues representing the Government of the United States. I have already given you a tolerable insight into the views of Mr. Bayard. That hon. gentleman, as the House knows, is the worthy representative of a long line of the most eminent statesmen in the United States, and no person in the Government of that country commands more uniformly or more deservedly the respect and confidence of the United States than the Hon. T. F. Bayard, the Secretary of State. In the Hon. W. L. Putnam we had opposed to us a gentleman occupying so distinguished a legal position in New England that his name has been frequently heard within the last fortnight as the probable successor of that eminent jurist, the late Hon. Chief Justice of the United States; we had in him a gentleman more intimately acquainted with the fishing interests of the United States than almost any other gentleman who could be suggested, and whose legal standing and position are calculated to obtain the confidence and respect of all who know him. In the third plenipotentiary representing the United States we had Mr. Angell, President of the Michigan University at Ann Arbor, a gentleman who, although a supporter of the Republican party, was selected in consequence of his great

knowledge of international law, and the fact that he had been chosen by a Republican Government in the United States to discharge most important duties as a Commissioner to China in the arrangement of a treaty. I do not believe, Sir, that it would be possible for any Government in the United States to select three gentlemen more eminently patriotic, more heartily devoted to the interests of their country, than the three gentlemen I have named; and after sitting face to face with them for three months in keen and sharp controversy, the only result of our communications has been to leave upon my mind the very highest respect for the character, standing, and ability of those gentlemen, and a desire not only of continuing the acquaintance which I had the pleasure of making with them, but that it should perpetuate a genuine and thorough friendship. I can only say, Sir, that when I came to meet them in conference, I was greatly surprised, and you will not be surprised to learn that such was the case after hearing the papers I shall read with reference to commercial intercourse. After the statement of the President of the United States in his Message of 1885, asking for a commission, after the letters which passed between Mr. Bayard and myself, you will readily understand that I went there expecting and looking forward to a settlement of this question on very much the same lines as those upon which it had been settled in 1854 and, to some extent, in 1871. I am right in saying that the instructions with which I was charged by this Government were to obtain, if it were possible, as near an approach to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 as I could obtain—that is, the policy of carrying out free exchange in the natural products of the two countries. I was to urge that policy, and I think you will have no doubt as to the course pursued by me after reading the proposition that I made in the conference on December 3rd, 1887:

"Sir Charles Tupper begged leave to submit a note containing the following proposal from the British plenipotentiaries:

That with a view of removing all causes of difference in connection with the fisheries, it is proposed by Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries that the fishermen of both countries shall have all the privileges enjoyed during the existence of the fishery articles of the Treaty of Washington, in consideration of mutual arrangement providing for greater freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland."

It has been suggested that this is very vague. Well, I confess I am unable to see it. I considered that in formulating that proposal I was bound to ascertain if the Government of the United States were prepared to accept any greater freedom of commercial intercourse, to ascertain to what extent they were prepared to meet Canada in order to secure for their fishermen the enjoyment of the advantage which they had under the treaty of 1854 and under the treaty of 1871. If that proposal does not formulate as broad and as general an invitation to the Government of the United States as could be made, provided they were willing to deal upon a commercial basis at all, I should be very happy if any hon. gentleman will point out to me wherein the proposition is wanting. . . . I intended to give the Government of the United States the fullest opportunity of stating just how far they were prepared to go in reciprocal trade with Canada. I knew, Sir, that the air was full of theories of commercial union, full of proposals of unrestricted intercourse, and I thought I could not do a better service to Canada, under these circumstances, than to ascertain at the very outset what was the position of the United States as to that question. I do not hesitate to tell you what that position is. . . . I am bound to take this opportunity of saying that you can go to Washington, as I did; you may mingle for three months, as I did, with the leading men of all parties and all classes; you may go through the House of Representatives from beginning to end and canvass every man, and you may go to the Senate of the United States and canvass every man, and I will

say that you will not find a single man who will talk to you on the subject of unrestricted reciprocity, as I did not find one at the time when public attention was being turned to it in this country.

Was it not desirable that we should know what the views and sentiments of the United States were upon the subject? Talk to them, Sir, of commercial union—I tell you that I did not meet a man of any party, I did not meet an American statesman, who would not hold up both hands for commercial union with Canada. Why, Sir? Because he knows that it would give Canada to the United States; he knows that you would never occupy the degrading position of having a neighbouring country make your tariff and impose taxes upon you. I say, Sir, that it is a condition of things from which the most craven Canadian would recoil. This proposition of unrestricted reciprocity, of free trade with the United States, with liberty to make our own tariff with the rest of the world—I say I did not meet a man—I discussed this question fully and freely from day to day with scores of leading public men in the United States—I did not meet a man who would talk about such a thing for a single moment. Why, Sir, they treated the very proposition with scorn. They said: "Do you suppose that we intend to make a free-trade arrangement with Canada that would involve free trade with England, and destroy the position we occupy in relation to all the vast industries of this country?" I say, Sir, that under these circumstances I did a service to Canada. And you have got the answer. You did not get from Mr. Bayard the statement: "If you will go the whole length of unrestricted reciprocity with us, if you will make everything free, then we will talk with you." Nothing of the kind. Here is the answer, coming from the leader of the Administration of the United States, which conclusively shows that, I was going to say, but, after the interesting and animated discussion we had in this House, I will not say that it was a waste of time to

take up a fortnight of the time of Parliament in discussing that which it is just as rational as to have been discussing how to construct a railway from Canada to the moon. The answer is here:

"While continuing their proposal heretofore submitted—on the 30th ultimo—and fully sharing the desire of Her Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiaries to remove all causes of difference in connection with the fisheries, the American plenipotentiaries are constrained, after careful consideration, to decline to ask from the President authority requisite to consider the proposal conveyed to them on the 3rd instant as a means to the desired end, because the greater freedom of commerical intercourse so proposed would necessitate an adjustment of the present tariff of the United States by congressional action, which adjustment the American plenipotentiaries consider to be manifestly impracticable of accomplishment through the medium of a treaty under the circumstances now existing. Nor could the American plenipotentiaries admit that such a mutual arrangement as is proposed by Her Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiaries could be accepted as constituting a suitable basis of negotiation concerning the rights and privileges claimed for American fishing vessels. It still appears to the American plenipotentiaries to be possible to find an adjustment of differences by agreeing on an interpretation or modification of the treaty of 1818 which will be honourable to both parties and remove the causes of complaint to which end they are now—as they have been from the beginning of this conference—ready to devote themselves."

Mr. Bayard gives a further illustration of the position in his letter to the Senate. It is dated Washington, March 22nd, and in it he says:

"In conformity with the invariable course pursued in previous negotiations, when the conference met it was generally agreed that an honourable confidence should be maintained in its deliberations, and that only results should be announced, and such other matters as the joint protocolists should sign under the direction of the plenipotentiaries. With this understanding, which was strictly kept, the discussions of the con-

ference proceeded, through its numerous and prolonged session, with that freedom and informality in the exchange of views which the nature of the negotiations required, and without which its progress would have been materially hampered, and any agreement rendered very difficult of attainment.

"Upon the conclusion of the treaty some members of the conference at once left the city under the pressure of other duties, and it is thus possible that some statements were excluded that otherwise might have been placed in the joint protocols."

I have explained to the House my great surprise at finding they did not give what I assumed that the purely formal protocols would give—that is to say, all the proposals made and the counter-proposals and the replies on both sides. I assumed that the protocols would contain those. Mr. Bayard has explained how it was that this was not done.

"After the conference had finally adjourned and Sir Charles Tupper had returned to Ottawa, a request was received through the British Minister that assent be given to the publication of a certain proposal which had been submitted by the British plenipotentiaries and declined by the Americans. The consent as desired was given, and I enclose herewith a copy of the papers so referred to. Every point submitted to the conference is covered by the papers now in the possession of the Senate."

I wish the House to note that. Although we have not given any proposals and counter-proposals, here is the statement, which I confirm as being thoroughly and entirely accurate, that the papers submitted to the Senate, as the papers submitted to you, give all the information necessary for the consideration of this question.

"Excepting the question of damages sustained by our fishermen, which, being met by the counter-claim for damages to British vessels in Behring's Sea, was left for future settlement."

President Angell, who was one of the commissioners, after he returned home, made the following observations :

"We were a long time getting down to the real work of the commission, all the parties interested were so varied. The British and Canadian commissioners were especially anxious to make a reciprocal free trade treaty a part of the treaty before they would settle on the fishery question. More than one-half the time was occupied in this manner. The real work has been done within the last month. We told them over and over that the tariff was a matter which must be settled by Congress, and that we could do nothing about it. I must say, if this treaty is not ratified by the Senate they will make a great mistake."

I give you President Angell's statement, and I will now give the House a still more authoritative statement bearing on the same subject. I have here the report of the Judicial Committee of the House of Representatives, to whom was referred, in 1885, the question as to the power of the President to negotiate treaties with foreign Governments. This report is No. 2,680, 48 Congress, 2nd Session.

"Mr. Tucker, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the following report:

"The Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the resolution of the House of Representatives embodied in this report, respectfully submit their report thereon."

"The resolution is in these words:

"Resolved, That the Judiciary Committee be directed to report to the House whether the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, can negotiate treaties with foreign Governments by which the duties levied by Congress on importations can be changed or abrogated.

"The question thus referred to the Committee is one of great importance in its relations to our foreign intercourse and our internal Government. . . .

"Your Committee have thus considered the question on the true interpretation of the language of the constitution; upon the construction of the Government itself; on the historic developments of the constitution from its British original through the articles of Confederation to its present form; on analogy to the British prototype; on precedents and the authority;

and have come to the conclusion expressed in the following resolution, which, though the discussion has taken a wider range, is confined to the question submitted by the resolution referred to the Committee:

"Resolved, that the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, cannot negotiate treaties with foreign Governments by which the duties levied by Congress can be changed or abrogated, and such treaties to be operative as law must have the sanction of an Act of Congress."

I have therefore shown the grounds on which the United States plenipotentiaries refused, in the most positive manner, as they have stated in their reply over and over again, to take up the question of trade relations. You may ask me, then, what Mr. Bayard meant by using the words "these commercial questions and this commercial intercourse between the two countries." I confess I was misled. I confess I took the same view as hon. gentlemen would take, I think, on reading his letter to me and my letter to him and his instructions to Mr. Phelps, and I was not prepared to be met by an absolute refusal on the part of the United States plenipotentiaries to take up and consider the question of commercial intercourse at all. But the explanation was this, and I think it is right and fair that in his absence I should give it. Mr. Bayard states now, and has stated throughout, his great desire to have the freest commercial intercourse between us consistent with the position and interest of the two countries. He says, if you want to see the policy of the Government of the United States, you have it in the President's Message to Congress; there is our policy. Our policy is to meet this enormous surplus revenue in the United States, not by a reduction that will strike at the labour and capital of the country by reducing the duty on manufactured articles simply and purely, but it is to meet it by two courses —by making every thing that operatives use cheap, by making it free, by making the natural products of the two countries free; in other words, by removing the duty

from the food and things that are used by operatives, and by removing the duties from raw materials, which, instead of injuring the manufacturing industries, is a protective policy. I say, Sir, that after studying the policy of the United States, of the Democratic party—the free trade party of the United States, as they are very improperly called, for there is no free trade party in the United States; they have got beyond that long ago—after examining their policy, after reading the President's message, after reading the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, after reading the speech of Mr. Carlisle, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, on taking the chair, I have come to the conclusion that their policy is just as close to the policy of the Government of Canada as any two things possibly can be. Our policy is to make natural products free; our policy is to make raw materials free; our policy is to make the country as cheap a country as we can for the artisan, and at the same time to give his labour a full return, by such protection of the manufacturing industries of the country as will build up those manufactures and give employment to the people. Now, Sir, that is our policy. Mr. Bayard and those other gentlemen said that "there is only one way to reach this (for Congress alone can take the duty off any article); and on account of the exasperation that has been excited in this country by those fishery difficulties you have a unanimous Bill passed by the House of Representatives and passed by the Senate and assented to by the President; you have to meet what they hold was the inhospitable conduct (they used good deal stronger terms in some of their State papers, I am very sorry to say) of Canada in reference to the treatment of their fishermen; our representatives have said that they would never purchase from Canada any immunity for their fishermen by reciprocal trade arrangements"—imbued, as their minds were, with the idea that we had adopted that policy to force reciprocity upon them. They imagined we did it for this

purpose, instead of doing it, as we did it, to protect our rights. While we were ready to have the freest commercial intercourse in the natural products of the two countries, we never attempted to use that as a means or as a lever by which to coerce the people of the United States. We were simply and wholly animated by a desire to protect, as we were bound to do, the fishermen of this country who are engaged in one of our greatest and most important industries.

Well, Sir, what was this Non-intercourse Bill? It not only provided for shutting Canadian fishing vessels of all descriptions out of their ports, but it contained a provision against all interchange of trade. . . .

That was the law placed upon the Statute-book of the United States by the unanimous vote, I believe, of both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. If there was a "No" at all it was a single one. That expressed the sentiments and the feeling in the United States of America, and our friends the plenipotentiaries representing the United States said: "If we make a treaty with you affecting the tariff, however small the inducement you might be willing to accept, it is certain of absolute rejection by the Senate, because the Congress of the United States have stated their position firmly, and they will not permit any interference on the part of the Administration of the United States by treaty with anything that involves a change in the fiscal laws of the United States." They said, secondly, that not only was that the case, but such was the hostility of public men in regard to Canada and the treatment by Canada of their fishermen, that if to-morrow any relaxation of the tariff of the United States was made by an Act of Congress it would contain a clause excepting Canada from its operations so as to deny us its advantage. "But," they said, "our policy is proclaimed to the world; you will read it in the President's speech; you will see it everywhere; our policy is as far as we can to make the

natural products that come into the country free, and what lies in the way of that policy is this irritation connected with the fishery question. If we can solve that, if we can take that out of the way, you will find at once that our own independent policy—the policy of the United States on this question of commercial intercourse—will be such as to produce the most intimate commercial relations again with the Dominion of Canada." And, Sir, under those circumstances, denied as we were the free consideration of the question, of which fact I have given you abundant evidence, we turned our attention to the only means by which it could be averted, and those were the removal of the causes of irritation between the United States and Canada (for it was Canada rather than Great Britain that was referred to), and by removing those causes of irritation, and giving free scope to this policy to which they were committed, we believed that it would at a very early day give us everything that we should desire in the way of greater freedom of commercial intercourse. Now, Sir, I am in somewhat a similar position in explaining this treaty, which I have now reached, to that in which I was in 1871 when defending the treaty of my right hon. friend under somewhat different circumstances. Then I said: "Every word that you force us to say in support of this treaty will be used against us at Halifax in diminution of the payment that we are entitled to for the greater value of our fisheries." To-day I am in a somewhat similar position. For every word that I say in defence of the treaty to which I have put my hand and to which I ask the sanction of this House with the utmost confidence, every word that I say in support of it may be used to-morrow in the Senate of the United States, where support to the treaty may be more difficult to obtain than it is in the House of Commons of Canada. The House will, therefore, understand that on this occasion it cannot be expected from me that I shall point out very elaborately the advantages accruing to Canada under the treaty to

which we have placed our hands. What I say is this—I say, Sir, that the course that has been adopted in reference to this treaty has been adopted with a view to secure in the only way that was found practicable, the best interests of Canada. I am told—in fact I received a message, that the hon. leader of the Opposition wished me to lay on the Table of the House a map showing what Canada claimed under the treaty of 1818 in regard to the headland question, and another map to show what the result of this treaty was—how much we had surrendered, or how much we had secured. I can only say that I am not able to respond to that invitation, for this reason, that this treaty provides, in regard to the delimitation, that the work shall be done by commissioners, two appointed on each side, eminent men of high qualifications, who shall mark on British Admiralty charts the lines as they are laid down and agreed to in the treaty. . . . It is very specifically described in the treaty, and those who study this map attentively will, I think, be able to form a very fair idea of the results—quite as good as they would from any unauthorised map which I could have constructed, and which I would have no right to lay before the House. I do not think it was a complete surrender, and I will briefly tell the House why. But before proceeding to that matter, I may say that there was one subject on which I was glad to find that the American plenipotentiaries, and myself especially, were entirely at one. They expressed no wish to acquire the right to fish in the jurisdictional waters of Canada. With that expression of opinion on their part I heartily concurred. I believe, Sir, it would have been difficult to obtain any possible treaty that could repay Canada for having her inestimable fishing grounds thrown open again to United States fishermen. With the recent modes of catching fish by means of purse seines, my fear would be that if our fishing grounds were thrown open to our neighbours to the south of us, in ten or fifteen years we should have very little better fisheries than they

have. I believe such an event would lead to their destruction, and therefore I was very glad to find that there was no desire on the part of the United States to acquire the right to fish in the inshore fishing grounds of Canada; and I want it to be kept steadily in view that in all the arrangements provided by this treaty Canada holds for Canadians her fishing grounds for their own exclusive use and benefit; and, Sir, with the intelligence, the industry, and the enterprise of our people, I am quite certain that they will be able under the provisions of this treaty to hold their own anywhere. I will now, Sir, proceed to deal with the subject of the treaty itself, and I take up first the most important question, that of delimitation. I need not tell you that this is a question in controversy. It is a question that has been a most fertile cause of discussion between the United States and Great Britain and Canada. The Americans have maintained that what we termed our exclusive right to shut them out of all bays was not well founded in that treaty. They have maintained that they had an indefeasible right under that treaty to approach within three miles of the shore of any bay or indentation.

The Government of Canada had agreed to a Commission to ascertain what these rights (claimed by America) were. (After a discussion with Mr. Mitchell, ex-Minister of Fisheries, on the question of delimitation, Sir Charles Tupper proceeded.) . . . I think the very spirit and policy of this Commission which was proposed was to ascertain, to settle, and to remove these doubts, and I say, when we met these gentlemen and they proposed to us this ten-mile limit, and said: If you give up the extreme contention that no bay, however broad its mouth, can be entered by an American fisherman, we will agree to take the ten-mile limit; and when they met us further and said that, in addition to that, they would take up and consider the question of any special bays we thought ought not to be open to foreigners, then we took this question

up, as we were bound to take it up, and found a solution by mutual concession. Instead of giving in to their contention that they could go into the Baie des Chaleurs within three miles of the shore, we made a treaty by which they cannot enter the Baie des Chaleurs at all. And the hon. gentleman knows that the Miramichi Bay, and a number of other bays that we consider of vital importance to be kept free from any kind of intrusion, have been conceded to us. We met them in a spirit of mutual concession. I have no hesitation in saying that I believe that when we parted, and long before we parted, we were animated by the conviction that we owed it to the countries we represented, by mutual concessions, as far as could possibly be done, to find such a solution as would settle these questions that have disturbed the intercourse and threatened the peace of the two greatest English-speaking nations of the world, on the best terms that we could possibly find.

After explaining some points in Article 5 of the treaty, and after the recess, Sir Charles Tupper proceeded :

Before passing away entirely from the subject of delimitation, to which I drew the attention of the House for some time, I would like to say that in addition to the doubts which have been admitted on all sides to exist and required to be set at rest, the Government of the United States had a very strong standing ground, a very strong position, in the delimitation which was adopted by what was called the North Sea Convention, a convention between Her Britannic Majesty, the German Emperor, the King of Prussia, the King of the Belgians, the King of Denmark, the President of the French Republic, and the King of the Netherlands, regulating the North Sea fisheries. This convention was signed at The Hague on May 6th, 1882 ; and if, upon a deliberate review of the bays from which foreign vessels should be excluded, these

Powers adopted the principle of limiting that exclusion to bays that were less than ten miles in width, you can readily see the strong position the Government of the United States would have in claiming that the delimitation should have some regard to the international policy of these great countries that had been dealing with a precisely similar question.

Article 2 of the convention says:

"The fishermen of each country shall enjoy the exclusive right to fish within a distance of three miles from low-water mark.

"The three marine miles mentioned in Article 1 of the Convention of October 20, 1818, shall be measured seaward from low-water mark; but at every bay, creek, or harbour, not otherwise especially provided for in this treaty, such three marine miles shall be measured seaward from a straight line drawn across the bay, creek, or harbour in the part nearest the entrance at the first point where the width does not exceed ten marine miles."

As I have said before, to accept the delimitation, to accept as the jurisdictional waters of Canada from which foreigners shall be excluded, the ten-mile limit as proposed by the Government of the United States, was to stand not only upon the ground that a good deal of doubt and hesitation seemed to have been exhibited by Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Canada in dealing with that subject, but they had in addition the precedent of The Hague Convention, where all the Great Powers to which I have referred, after careful examination and deliberation, decided that the fishermen of all countries could be at liberty to come into any waters where the bay was more than ten miles wide at the mouth. When we accepted this ten-mile delimitation, which was all that appears to have been aimed at by any Canadian Government, the extreme limit that any person had proposed as a matter of delimitation, we made it a condition of the acceptance of that restriction that certain bays should

be exempt from its operation, and although I have not furnished hon. gentlemen opposite with a chart on which those delimitations are marked by myself, as I thought it would hardly do to do that, it will be seen by the examination of such representations as have been given on this subject that the exceptions which the plenipotentiaries of the United States were willing to concede have left us very small ground for complaint, although I frankly state that it was a concession made by the plenipotentiaries of Her Majesty for the purpose of arriving at a common ground on which we could solve the difficulties with which this question was surrounded. Our concessions did not stop there. I am quite ready to admit, and I think it might as well be stated in the outset, that the Canadian Government would find it, I would find it, quite as difficult as our friends the plenipotentiaries of the United States would find it, to justify this treaty if it was to be examined in the light of the extreme contentions maintained on both sides previously. I need not inform the House that in diplomatic intercourse it is customary, it is right, for the representatives of a Government to state the strongest and most advanced ground that they possibly can sustain in relation to every question, and I would not like, I confess, to be tried before the House by the ground taken by my hon. friend the Minister of Justice and by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. The ground they took was quite right; they were authorised by the strict terms of the treaty in taking the strong ground they did; they would have failed in their duty to this House and to this country if, called upon to deal with this question as a matter of diplomatic intercourse and discussion between the Government of the United States and of Canada, they had not taken the extreme contention that the literal terms of the treaty of 1818 would warrant. They did their duty in adopting that course; but when it comes to a question of conference, to a question of international discussion for the purpose of ascertaining whether between the extreme

contention on the one side and the extreme contention on the other, any standing ground may be found on which the two parties may meet and settle a dispute of great international difficulty by mutual concession, the case is entirely altered, and the responsibility resting upon the plenipotentiaries of any country would be great if they refused to consider fair and reasonable concessions of the other. So that I have no hesitation in saying that, dealing with this great question in that spirit, dealing with a question that is of vital importance to the British Empire, of vital importance to the Government of Great Britain, who were constantly threatened with embarrassment and serious difficulties and collision with the great country to the south of us, a question, too, of great magnitude to the United States of America, a question of still greater magnitude, in my judgment, to the people of Canada, one on which we had more at stake and more to lose in a great struggle of that kind than either of the great countries to which I have referred—I say, looking at the question in a broad and national spirit, looking at it with a desire to remove the possibility of what I consider would be the greatest misfortune that could happen to the civilised world—a collision between the two great English-speaking nations—looking at it from that broad standpoint, it would have been criminal on my part and on the part of those who represented Her Majesty's Government and the interests of the people of Canada, if they had not endeavoured, by making fair and reasonable concessions, to find a common ground that would present a solution of those important and serious questions, that might enable a treaty to be formulated and accepted as a just and equitable settlement upon both sides. As I have said, our concessions did not rest at the delimitations.

We now come to the next portion of the treaty, and this is the treatment of American fishermen within our waters. I trust I have explained Article 5, and the other articles immediately following refer to the mode of delimita-

tion, and do not require any special remarks from me. Article 9 says :

"Nothing in this treaty shall interrupt or affect the free navigation of the Strait of Canso by fishing vessels of the United States."

I may explain to the House that that was not a surrender of British interests at the dictation or at the request of the plenipotentiaries of the United States. That clause was inserted in the treaty by ourselves, and for this reason : That the rule for the delimitation which was adopted, the ten-mile rule, would have necessarily excluded, if we took in Chedabucto Bay, which we did take in by making the delimitation, as hon. gentlemen will see, not from one side of the main land of the bay to the other, which would have opened it to the United States, but from the island between ; by that delimitation the United States would have been shut out altogether from passing through the Strait of Canso because they could not have gone into Chedabucto Bay, and therefore they asked that Chedabucto Bay should be excluded from the delimitation, which made it an exclusive bay, in order to prevent their being shut out of the navigation of the Strait of Canso. Well, Sir, under those circumstances we met that by providing nothing new. We provided simply that nothing in this treaty should interrupt the free navigation of the Strait of Canso, as previously enjoyed by fishing vessels to which we confined it, and in that way we avoided making an exception of Chedabucto Bay, which is the entrance from the Atlantic side to the Strait of Canso. Article 10 provides :

"That United States fishing vessels entering the bays or harbours referred to in Article 1 of this treaty shall conform to harbour regulations common to them and to fishing vessels of Canada or Newfoundland."

I do not think that requires any reference on my part, because it speaks for itself, and it simply provides that

whatever harbour regulations there are in force the fishing vessels shall be obliged to conform to them. Article 10 provides:

"They need not report, enter, or clear when putting into such bays or harbours for shelter or repairing damages, or when putting into the same, outside the limits of established ports of entry, for the purpose of purchasing wood or of obtaining water; except that any such vessel remaining there more than twenty-four hours exclusive of Sundays and legal holidays, within any such port, or communicating with the shore therein, may be required to report, enter, or clear; and no vessel shall be excused thereby from giving due information to boarding officers."

I may say, Sir, with reference to this, that a great deal was made of the apparent injustice of subjecting fishing vessels obliged to put in for humane purposes, such as vessels in distress and vessels under stress of weather, to rigorous restrictions. A great deal was made of the difficulties that were thrown in their way, and the obstructions that were placed apparently by Canada, in the way of their exercising and enjoying those privileges that the treaty of 1818 clearly and distinctly provided they should enjoy. I think, Sir, that this House and the people of this country will agree with me that it was desirable, in the interests of good neighbourhood, in the interests of the good reputation of Canada for humane and friendly consideration to fishing vessels obliged to put into our ports for shelter, and especially where they had under the treaty a right to come in under such circumstances, that we should remove any obstruction or hindrances that lay in their way. It was urged, on the other hand, that in the United States our fishing vessels were not treated with the same stringency that those vessels were which under treaty right are permitted to come into our waters for those four purposes, and evidence was placed before the conference to show that in the port of Portland the course pursued was a more liberal course than

the stringent regulations which had been used in Canada. The collector of that port—who had been collector for thirty years—was examined and gave his testimony as to the treatment of the Dominion vessels in the United States waters. He was asked:

"During the time you have been deputy collector, whether or not there have been numerous cases of Dominion vessels, including vessels engaged in fishing in that port, and if they failed to report, though lying more than twenty-four hours, have penalties been imposed for such failure during the term of your service?"

His answer was, as I remember:

"If there were any instances of Dominion vessels failing to report when lying more than twenty-four hours, their presence has been overlooked by the port officers. I do not recall from memory a single instance when or where a penalty was imposed, and I find no record of any such payments in the accounts of this office."

Under those circumstances we felt that we might fairly allow vessels that had no connection with the shore fishing, vessels coming in distress, or vessels coming in under stress of weather to take shelter on our coast, that we might fairly exempt them from reporting for a period of twenty-four hours provided they did not touch the shore. It was represented that in many cases the previous regulations had involved great hardship and difficulty, that the custom houses were remote from the outlying portions of the harbour where the shelter was obtained, and that to remain long enough to go up to the custom house officer and to make the necessary report would involve a very serious delay, and might prevent them getting to sea at all at the time they would desire. I do not conceive that any very great injury to our interests is likely to result where these privileges are only extended to vessels which are not permitted at all to communicate with the shore. The moment they have a communication with the shore,

that moment it is incumbent upon them to report, or they are liable to the pains and penalties provided by this Act if they do not do so. I think this House will agree with me, and I believe the people of this country will agree with me, that it was a wise proposition to relieve them of what they found to be a great hardship, and so aid in effecting the removal of a very false impression abroad where people did not undertand how stringent the necessity was for guarding our coasts.

"They shall not be liable in such bays or harbours for compulsory pilotage."

It was represented that a fisherman coming in by distress or by stress of weather was compelled to take a pilot, or was subject to the charge for a pilot, and that this was felt to be very onerous; while the fact is that our own fishermen were practically free from any such pilotage regulations, and it was therefore a concession to remove the pilotage dues. I admit that it was a concession to remove them from the charge of pilotage. It was a case in which, in my judgment, "the play was not worth the candle," and the money that would be obtained for pilotage was very small, while it would create a most unpleasant impression abroad if it were understood that while giving them the shelter the treaty compelled us to give them, we took the opportunity to force upon them a charge for pilotage that they did not require and which they thought unnecessary. . . . The article further says:

"They shall not be liable to such bays or harbours for compulsory pilotage; nor, when therein for the purpose of shelter, or repairing damages, of purchasing wood, or of obtaining water, shall they be liable for harbour dues, tonnage dues, buoy dues, light dues, or other similar dues; but this enumeration shall not permit other charges inconsistent with the enjoyment of the liberties reserved or secured by the Convention of October 20, 1818."

The truth is that although there appears to be a con-

siderable concession in that, it does not amount to much, from the fact that we have no light dues. In Newfoundland, where they have rather heavy light dues, it is a much more serious concession than it is in Canada, but Mr. Winter, the able Attorney-General of Newfoundland, whose advice and assistance we had throughout these negotiations, felt that that was a concession which the island of Newfoundland would not object to, although they would lose something in the way of light dues. Now, Sir, Article 11 provides:

"United States fishing vessels entering the ports, bays, and harbours of the eastern and north-eastern coasts of Canada or of the coasts of Newfoundland under stress of weather or other casualty may unload, reload, tranship, or sell, subject to customs laws and regulations, all fish on board, when such unloading, transhipment, or sale is made necessary as incidental to repairs, and may replenish outfits, provisions, or supplies damaged or lost by disaster; and in case of death or sickness shall be allowed all needful facilities, including the shipping of crews."

I do not think, Sir, that I shall have to take much time in satisfying this House that, although this is a very considerable and important concession, and although we were not compelled, in my judgment, under a strict literal interpretation of the treaty of 1818 to make it, yet it was a wise and judicious concession to make. What would be thought of Canada if an American, or a United States fishing vessel —I do not like to use the word American, because I think it is a term we have as much right to as our neighbours; I prefer to speak of them as the people of the United States and ourselves as Canadians; and when I speak of the whole continent of America, I do not hesitate to apply the term American to the people of both Canada and the United States—but what would be thought of Canada if a vessel of the United States, loaded with fresh mackerel or fish of any other description, were driven by stress of weather, and perhaps in a sinking condition and com-

pelled to resort to a Canadian port, and if, instead of allowing her to tranship her cargo or sell it on paying the duty and go upon a marine slip for repairs, we said: No, you must throw overboard the whole of your cargo, because we find you are not allowed to bring your fish into Canada?

Article 11 further provides:

"Licences to purchase in established ports of entry of the aforesaid coasts of Canada or of Newfoundland, for the homeward voyage, such provisions and supplies as are ordinarily sold to trading vessels, shall be granted to United States fishing vessels in such ports promptly upon application and without charge, and such vessels, having obtained licences in the manner aforesaid, shall also be accorded upon all occasions such facilities for the purchase of casual or needful provisions and supplies as are ordinarily granted to trading vessels; but provisions or supplies shall not be obtained by barter, nor purchased for resale or traffic."

That was another concession. There is no doubt at all, Sir, that these were rights which, under the strict terms of the treaty of 1818, they could not demand, nor could they insist upon them being granted; but at the same time I think I am within the judgment of the House on both sides when I say that in the case of a vessel which is homeward bound and requires provisions or needful supplies to take her home, if, for instance, she has some of her rigging carried away, or some of her salt washed overboard, and is obliged to lose her voyage in going back to a distant port to refit, a provision that she may obtain casual and needful supplies of that kind was demanded in the interests of good neighbourhood, and it was not going too far to say that we would allow them to enjoy those advantages. Therefore, Sir, I am glad to believe that Article 11 will meet with the hearty approval of the House and the country, and that they will feel that we have only acted with a wise judgment, and with due regard to the best interests of Canada for the sake of removing an inter-

national unpleasantness, in putting these provisions into this treaty. Article 12 provides:

"Fishing vessels of Canada and Newfoundland shall have on the Atlantic coasts of the United States all the privileges reserved and secured by this treaty to the United States fishing vessels in the aforesaid waters of Canada and Newfoundland."

I do not pretend that this is accomplishing a great deal, because, as is well known, Canadian fishing vessels do not require to resort to any great extent to the waters of the United States; but at the same time it is a reciprocal arrangement, and it shows that we are not granting anything to the fishermen of the United States that they are not prepared to grant in express terms to the fishermen of Canada. Article 13 provides:

"The Secretary of the Treasury of the United States shall make regulations providing for the conspicuous exhibition by every United States fishing vessel, of its official number on each bow; and any such vessel, required by law to have an official number, and failing to comply with such regulations, shall not be entitled to the licences provided for in this treaty. Such regulations shall be communicated to Her Majesty's Government previously to their taking effect."

The object of that is obvious. Under the arrangements of the Government of the United States every vessel has an official number, and it will save a great deal of trouble if that official number is required to be exhibited in such a conspicuous form that the moment you see the vessel you will know that it is an American fishing vessel. That will enable you to investigate her character and position and everything about her. Although I have seen the Government of the United States very severely criticised for subjecting these vessels to such an indignity, I do not regard it in that light at all. It is purely a matter of business between the two countries for the purpose of facilitating the recognition of vessels, and thus making it much easier to deal with any question that may arise in

relation to her ; and as you will know every vessel to which you have given a licence, the moment you see a vessel, you will know whether she has a licence or not. This measure gives you an opportunity of identifying a vessel and protecting your fishing grounds much more effectually than you could do without it. Article 14 provides :—

" The penalties of unlawfully fishing in the waters, bays, creeks, and harbours, referred to in Article 1 of this treaty, may extend to forfeiture of the boat or vessel and appurtenances, and also of the supplies and cargo aboard when the offence was committed ; and for preparing in such waters to unlawfully fish therein, penalties shall be fixed by the court, not to exceed those for unlawfully fishing."

That is to say, if you are able to establish a charge against the vessel of unlawfully preparing to fish, the court may in its judgment forfeit the vessel, but a discretion is left with the court, which it had not before, of imposing a comparatively much lighter penalty than the forfeiture of the vessel. I do not think anybody will question the wisdom of dealing with this question as we have done. We have left the penalty for unlawful fishing to extend to the forfeiture of the vessel and everything appertaining to her. I think the House will agree with me that the penalty for the lighter offence may be lighter, and that the efficiency of the law is likely to be much greater with the lighter penalty than with the extreme ones that existed before.

" And for any other violation of the laws of Great Britain, Canada, or Newfoundland relating to the right of fishery in such waters, bays, creeks, or harbours, penalties shall be fixed by the court, not exceeding in all three dollars for every ton of the boat or vessel concerned. The boat or vessel may be holden for such penalties and forfeitures."

That penalty does not apply to unlawful fishing or preparing to fish, but it applies to the lighter offences, such as attempting to purchase bait or anything of that

kind. The penalty is reduced to a reasonable one of three dollars a ton, but yet sufficient, in my judgment, to secure probably a more prompt and effective administration of the law than would be secured if you made the penalty a great deal higher.

"The proceedings shall be summary and as inexpensive as practicable."

I do not know that anybody but the judges in the courts of Vice-Admiralty could complain of that. The object of every civilised country should be to have the laws administered in as inexpensive and summary a mode as practicable.

"The trial (except on appeal) shall be at the place of detention, unless the judge shall, on request of the defence, order it to be held at some other place adjudged by him more convenient."

That is to say, it is proposed instead of bringing these cases to the court of Vice-Admiralty at Halifax, or St. John, N.B., or Quebec, as the case may be, it is proposed that a judge should be sent to deal with the case in a summary manner where the witnesses are all present and the facts can be ascertained, and thus save the cost and inconvenience occasioned by laying up a vessel for a year or two while awaiting judgment. . . .

"Security for costs shall not be required of the defence, except when bail is offered. Reasonable bail shall be accepted. There shall be proper appeals available to the defence only and the evidence at the trial may be used on appeal."

That is, we do not propose to appeal against the judgments of our own judges, but we allow an appeal to foreigners who are affected by the judgments of our own judges and who have not the same confidence in their judgments that we have. All this is done for the purpose of saving time and costs, thus avoiding endless irritation through delay.

"Judgments of forfeiture shall be reviewed by the Governor-

General of Canada in Council, or the Governor in Council of Newfoundland, before the same are executed."

Thus, in a case in which, for unlawfully fishing or for unlawfully preparing to fish, the judge forfeits the vessel, that decision shall not be carried into execution until the Governor-General in Council shall have had the opportunity of deliberately examining the evidence upon which this judgment was founded, so as to remedy the judgment if they think there is any ground for the exercise of greater lenity than the judge has felt himself able to use.

Article 15 is, of course, a contingent article. As I have already informed the House, the plenipotentiaries of the United States stated they were quite unable to put anything in the treaty that would necessarily touch the fiscal policy of their country. They say to do so would be simply to invite rejection of the treaty, on the ground that they had infringed the jurisdiction which Congress possessed, the United States Congress having, as I have shown the House, adopted, in the most emphatic form, the policy not to allow any changes in their tariff except by the act of Congress itself. We therefore put this in the contingent clause. We provide absolutely for the concessions that have been made with reference to delimitation, and with reference to the treatment of United States fishing vessels, when compelled to resort to our ports in distress or in need of casual supplies or for a homeward voyage. All these were made absolute by the treaty; but when it came to that which is of great value to the United States fishermen, when it came to that which enables the United States fishermen to make Canada a basis of supplies for the purpose of better competing with our own fishermen, we then felt that we had a right to take our stand, and if Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries have not been able to support the extreme contention of the Canadian Government, hon. gentlemen will find that, on the other hand, the plenipotentiaries of the United States, who had, as a matter of diplomatic

intercourse, taken a very strong ground as to the indefeasible rights of American fishing vessels to obtain, in our ports, as commercial vessels, whatever supplies they required for carrying on their fishing—to be able to purchase bait, to be able to purchase supplies of every kind, and to be able to tranship their fish—they will find that our friends on the other side had, in the same way, to concede a great deal as compared with the extreme contention that they had made. Here it is provided, as a just and proper security to the interests of the fishermen of Canada, who have the right, while excluded by heavy duties from the markets of the United States, to such protection as the treaty of 1818 has provided for them, that whenever the question arises as to Canada being made the basis of supply for the American deep sea fishing vessels—because the question of fishing is not in the controversy at all, the Americans having given up the right to catch fish in the inshore waters of Canada—that only can be done for a sufficient *quid pro quo*. We have, therefore, provided in Article 15 :—

"Whenever the United States shall remove the duty from fish-oil, whale-oil, seal-oil, and fish of all kinds (except fish preserved in oil), being the produce of fisheries carried on by the fishermen of Canada and of Newfoundland, including Labrador, as well as from the usual and necessary casks, barrels, kegs, cans, and other usual necessary coverings containing the products above mentioned, the like products, being the produce of fisheries carried on by the fishermen of the United States, as well as the usual necessary covering of the same, as above described, shall be admitted free of duty into the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland.

"And upon such removal of duties, and while the aforesaid articles are allowed to be brought into the United States by British subjects, without duty being reimposed thereon, the privilege of entering the ports, bays, and harbours of the aforesaid coasts of Canada and of Newfoundland shall be accorded to United States fishing vessels by annual licences, free of charge, for the following purposes, namely :

"1. The purchase of provisions, bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits;

"2. Transhipment of catch, for transport by any means of conveyance;

"3. Shipping of crews.

"Supplies shall not be obtained by barter, but bait may so be obtained.

"The like privileges shall be continued or given to fishing vessels of Canada and of Newfoundland on the Atlantic coasts of the United States."

I think that is a measure which will meet with the hearty approval of the House. I think that will be regarded as a fair and reasonable proposition that, if fishing vessels of the United States are allowed to make Canada a base for obtaining their supplies and furnishing all the materials necessary for the outfit of a fishing voyage, for the transhipment of their catch, and making our harbours and ports the means of carrying on their industry, the fishermen of Canada, with whom they are in that case better able to compete than they could otherwise, are entitled to have their fish entered free in the ports of the United States. While the plenipotentiaries of the United States were not able to make this an absolute provision, I do not hesitate to say that I look confidently to the period in the remote future when fish will be made free and the fishermen of the United States will be able to obtain all the advantages in our ports which are here given to them. It will be observed that we have made this much larger in its provisions than either the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 or the Washington Treaty of 1871, inasmuch as we have made it cover many places which were not covered by either of those treaties, and not only that, but we have taken care to guard against what might be called the rather sharp practice, if such a term were admissible in regard to a neighbouring country, that, while allowing our fish to come in free, they should impose a duty upon the cans or tins or coverings in which the fish were included. More

than that, we have made this cover all the inland waters of Canada, as well as the sea coast, and have made this provision as to the entry of free fish, provided they take advantage of this clause and make Canada the base of their supplies, apply to the fish of British Columbia—that is, to the whole of Canada, the same as it does to the Atlantic coast. I think I have now dealt with the treaty in its entirety as it stands, and I have only to refer to the *modus vivendi* in Schedule B, which provides that, while this treaty is *sub judice*, before it can be ratified by the Senate of the United States, the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of Newfoundland, during two years or, pending that ratification, until these privileges to which the American fishermen would be entitled if our fish is made free, those privileges shall be enjoyed by the American fishermen on the payment of $1.50 per ton. I need not tell you that, on the eve of the ratification of a treaty of this kind by the Senate of the United States, a collision between the fishermen of the two countries or anything which would incite bad blood or become a cause of prejudice would probably prevent the ratification of a treaty which would be otherwise ratified, and to prevent that we offered in this *modus vivendi* for two years the privilege to these United States fishermen of obtaining these various benefits which are provided for in the treaty by the payment of $1.50 per ton. I do not think this will be regarded as an excessive rate, and I think it will greatly conduce to good neighbourhood between the United States and Canada. This *modus vivendi* was accepted by the United States plenipotentiaries in the most kindly spirit. They recommended the President to submit it to the Senate for their information, and I think I may say that it carries on the face of it the approval of the Governments of both countries. Now, having referred to the various provisions of the treaty, I am happy to say that I shall have to detain the House but a few minutes longer, but I would like to draw the attention of the House to what has been accom-

plished by this treaty. I have told you what position Canada stood in with regard to the United States of America before the initiation of these proceedings. I have told you that we stood face to face with an enactment which had been put on the Statute Book by a unanimous vote of Congress, ratified by the President, providing non-intercourse between the United States and Canada. I need not tell you that that Bill meant commercial war, that it meant not only the ordinary suspension of friendly feeling and intercourse between two countries, but that it involved much more than that. If that Bill had been brought into operation by the proclamation of the President of the United States, I have no hesitation in saying that we stood in the relation to that great country of commercial war, and the line is very narrow which separates a commercial war between two countries from an actual war. Speaking a year ago, I pointed out in my remarks, with a view to prevent the possibility of such an Act going into force, all the advantages that in our present position we could avail ourselves of to protect ourselves against such an unfriendly Act on the part of the United States. I then said that it would be a mad Act. I say so now. No man who knows anything of the intimate commercial relations which exist between Canada and the United States could contemplate such an Act going into operation without feeling that it would tear up from the foundation those intimate social and commercial relations which exist between these two countries, which, in friendly rivalry, are making rapid progress which has attracted the attention of the civilised world. It would produce a condition of things the end of which no man could foresee. If that Act had been adopted, we had no means of looking to any increased commercial intercourse between that great country and the Dominion of Canada. Under those circumstances, it behoved the Government of Canada to adopt any means in its power to avert such a disaster, which, great as it would have been to Canada,

would have been still greater to the United States. But it would be a very poor compensation for the injury which we would sustain, to know that we had a companion in misfortune suffering more than we suffered ourselves. We found Congress putting on the Statute Book a direction to the President that, on the first United States vessel being seized or harassed, or refused the advantages which they said they were entitled to, he, as the executive of that country, should put that Non-intercourse Act into force. That was the condition of things when I went down last Easter to see Mr. Bayard at Washington. If you compare the condition of things to-day with the condition of things that existed then, there is no man, I care not how partisan he may be, who can judicially look at the position of this question then and now without coming to the conclusion that we have emerged from midnight darkness into the light of day under the auspices of this treaty. It may be said: Suppose that the treaty is rejected by the United States Senate—a not impossible contingency—I need not tell the House that one of the advantages we enjoy under British institutions is that we are saved from the extreme and violent antagonisms of party that every fourth year the Presidential election brings about in the United States. Now any man who knows anything of the politics of the United States knows that, however good a measure is, however valuable, however much it commends itself to the judgment of every intelligent statesman in that country, it is a matter almost of honour on the part of the party in opposition to prevent the Government of the day from doing anything that would give them any credit or strengthen their hands in the country; that on the eve of a presidential election it is next to impossible to induce a Republican majority in the Senate to sanction anything a Democratic Administration has carried through, however valuable that may be. But, Sir, take the very worst contingency: suppose this treaty is rejected by the Senate—what then? Will we be relegated back to

the position we stood in a year ago? Not at all. If our efforts, by mutual conciliation, by concessions on both sides, to find a common ground, that we could present to all the parties to this treaty, as an honourable and equitable agreement that might be fairly accepted—if these efforts had failed, if, after three months' negotiations, we had broken up with embittered relations because we found that it was impracticable to get any common ground of meeting on which the Governments of the two countries could agree, there is no question that matters would have stood in a worse position than that in which they stood when we undertook these negotiations. But, Sir, that is not the position. Let the Senate of the United States to-morrow reject this treaty; I trust they will not do so; I have a hope that there is independent statesmanship enough in the great Republican party of the United States who have the power at their disposal to-day in the United States Senate to allow that sentiment of patriotism to overweigh the party advantages they might hope to obtain by preventing the present Administration from settling this vexed question—but when they remember that for seventy years these questions have been agitated which are now disposed of, they may see that if they should come into power themselves at any early date it would be an advantage to have this vexed question between the two great English-speaking nations of the world at rest, that there may be no renewal of the difficulties which have existed so long a time. But let me take the very worst contingency—that of the rejection of this treaty—and how do we stand? Why, Sir, let me read from a letter of the Secretary of State of the United States, written to the citizens of Boston, who invited him to go there to deliver a speech upon the treaty. In Mr. Bayard's letter of March 26th he says:—

"I am convinced that the welfare and true interest of our country and a just and wise treatment of the British American population on our northern frontier alike counsel the adoption

of the treaty. In its initiation, negotiation and conclusion, I can truly say for my associates and myself, no views but those of a single-minded patriotic intent have been allowed place or expression, nor can a trace or suggestion of partisanship be justly alleged. The sole and difficult question to which the treaty relates, the fishery rights, of one nation in the jurisdictional waters of another, began with the first dawn of our recognised independent existence as a nation, and ever since has conspicuously presented itself at intervals exciting bitter controversy, and never been satisfactory or pre-eminently disposed of. Meanwhile, the surrounding circumstances have importantly changed in advance with rapid and vast growth. The treaty of 1818 remains unaffected in its terms by seventy years of such material progress and development on this continent, as we of to-day are the witnesses. Unless the treaty of 1818 shall be wholly abrogated and recurrence necessarily had to the dangerous status that John Quincy Adams so ably but unavailingly discussed with the Earl of Bathurst, in 1815, and which had resisted all efforts of negotiation and at Ghent in the year previous, it is manifest that a joint and equitable construction in consonance with their existing relations and mutual needs must be agreed upon between Great Britain and the United States, and this, I affirm, is done by the present treaty."

Again he says :—

"Conciliation and mutual neighbourly concessions have together done their honourable and honest work in this treaty, paved the way for the relation of comity and mutual advantage."

Now, Sir, I ask you whether all the time, all the trouble expended in this manner is not amply compensated for by the declaration of the Secretary of State of the United States bearing this tribute and his testimony to this treaty as a fair, equitable, and just interpretation of the treaty of 1818. And what more, Sir? Let me read from the Message of the President of the United States :—

"As a result of such negotiations, a treaty has been agreed upon between Her Britannic Majesty and the United States, concluded and signed in this capital, under my direction and

authority, on the 15th of this February inst., and which I have now the honour to submit to the Senate,with the recommendation that it shall receive the consent of that body, as provided in the constitution, in order that the ratifications thereof may be duly exchanged and the treaty carried into effect. The treaty meets my approval, because I believe that it supplies a satisfactory, practical and final adjustment, upon a basis honourable and just to both parties, of the difficult and vexed question to which it relates. A review of the history of this question will show that all formal attempts to arrive at a common interpretation, satisfactory to both parties, of the first article of the treaty of October 20th, 1818, have been unsuccessful and with the lapse of time the difficulty and obscurity have only increased.

"Negotiations in 1854, and again in 1871, ended in both cases in temporary reciprocal arrangement of the tariffs of Canada and Newfoundland and of the United States, and of the payment of the money award by the United States. Under which the real question in difference remained unsettled, in abeyance, and ready to present themselves anew just as soon as the conventional arrangements were abrogated.

"The situation, therefore, remained unimproved by the results of the treaty of 1871, and a grave condition of affairs, presenting almost identically the same features and causes of complaint by the United States against Canadian action and British default in its correction, confronted us in May, 1886, and has continued until the present time.

"The four purposes for which our fishermen under the treaty of 1818 were allowed to enter the bays and harbours of Canada and Newfoundland within the belt of three marine miles are placed under a fair and liberal construction, and their enjoyment secured without such conditions and restrictions as in the past have embarrassed and obstructed them so seriously.

"The enforcement of penalties for fishing or preparing to fish within the inshore and exclusive waters of Canada and Newfoundland is to be accomplished under safeguards against oppressive or arbitrary action, thus protecting the defendant fisherman from punishment in advance of trial, delays, and inconvenience and unnecessary expense.

"The hospitality secured for our vessels in all cases of actual distress, with liberty to unload and sell and tranship their cargoes, is full and liberal.

"These provisions will secure the substantial enjoyment of the treaty rights for our fishermen under the treaty of 1818, for the contention has been steadily made in the correspondence of the Department of State, and by our Minister at London, and by the American negotiators of the present treaty.

"The treaty now submitted to you has been framed in a spirit of liberal equity and reciprocal benefits, in the conviction that mutual advantage and convenience are the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between States, and that a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries will be established so as to procure perpetual peace and harmony.

"In connection with the treaty herewith submitted, I deem it is also my duty to transmit to the Senate a written offer or arrangement, in the nature of a *modus vivendi*, tendered on the conclusion of the treaty on the part of the British plenipotentiaries, to secure kindly and peaceful relations during the period that may be required for the consideration of the treaty by the respective Governments and for the enactment of the necessary legislation to carry its provisions into effect if approved.

"This paper, freely and on their own motion, signed by the British conferees, not only extend advantages to our fishermen, pending the ratification of the treaty, but appears to have been dictated by a friendly and amicable spirit."

I ask you to contrast that language with the position we occupied a year ago in regard to the great Republic to the south of us. Let the Senate reject the treaty to-morrow, and I ask: What is the changed position of Canada? Yesterday we stood face to face with a Non-intercourse Bill, sustained by the united action of the Senate and House of Representatives, sustained by almost the whole Press, Republican and Democratic, of the United States, sustained with few exceptions by a prejudiced, irritated, and exasperated people of sixty millions lying on our borders. What, I repeat, is our position to-day? If

that treaty were rejected by the Senate to-morrow we have gained this vantage ground, that we stand in the position of having it declared by the Secretary of State of the United States and by the President of the United States that Canada has been ready to make, and that Her Majesty's Government on behalf of Canada, through her plenipotentiaries, have made an arrangement with the plenipotentiaries of the United States that is fair, just, and equitable, and that leaves that country no possible cause of complaint. What is the result? The result will be this: that let a fisherman complain to-morrow of our interpretation of the treaty, of the enforcement of our most extreme construction of the treaty, the answer to him is this: Nobody is to blame for the inconvenience you suffer except the Senate of the United States. The President, the Executive of your country; the Democratic party from end to end of the United States declared it was a fair settlement. They represent an undoubted majority, in my judgment, of the people of the United States to-day, and I believe they will represent it to-morrow. We stand in the position that instead of being alone with the whole of the United States, President, Government, and people all against us, all denouncing us as adopting a harsh and barbarous interpretation of an old, antiquated treaty for the purpose of forcing reciprocity upon them, we occupy the vantage ground of having these men out of their own mouths declaring that nothing has been wanting on the part of the Government of Her Majesty, or on the part of the Dominion of Canada, to place this question on a fair and equitable basis such as might honourably be accepted by the United States. I hold we have accomplished that without injuring in the slightest degree the fisheries of Canada, without injuring Canadian interests to any extent whatever. We have made concessions, as I have said, but we have made them with the avowed object of placing all people, not only the fishermen, but the agriculturist, the lumberman, every man in this country, in a better relation with the

United States than he was before. What is the result? As I have said, Mr. Bayard told us, the American plenipotentiaries told us, that there was but one way of obtaining what we wished. You want greater freedom of commercial intercourse. You want relaxation in our tariff arrangements with regard to natural products in which you are so rich and abundant. There is but one way to obtain it. Let us by common concession be able to meet on common ground and remove this irritating cause of difficulty between the two countries out of the way, and you will find that the policy of this Government, the policy of the President of the House of Representatives, the policy of the great Democratic party of the United States, will at once take an onward march in the direction you propose, and accomplish steadily that which you would desire, is the only way by which it can ever be attained. Those were not empty words; those were the sober utterances of distinguished statesmen, who pointed to the avowed policy of the Government of the United States as the best evidence of the sincerity of what they say. What has happened already? Already we have action by the financial exponent of the Administration of the United States—I mean Mr. Mills—the gentleman who in the United States Congress represents the Government of the day, and stands in the position most analogous in the United States to the Finance Minister in this House, the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who propounds the policy of the Administration in the House. How is he selected? The Democratic party sustaining the Government selects a man as Speaker of the House of Representatives, who is in accord with the policy of the Administration for the time being, and Mr. Carlisle, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, nominates the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and all the members of the committee, and therefore the Chairman of that committee occupies the position of representing the Government in bringing forward such Bills as

will represent the views and sentiments of the Democratic party in the United States supporting the Administration. What have we seen? The ink is barely dry upon this treaty before he, as the representative of the Government and Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, brings forward a measure to do—what? Why, to make free articles that Canada sends into the United States, and upon which last year $1,800,000 of duty was paid.

I do not intend to insult both the great political parties of this country, who have, since 1854 and long before, maintained that the interests of Canada—the interests of British North America—were intimately bound up in obtaining free intercourse with the United States for our natural products—I do not intend to insult the two great parties in this country by telling them that they were fools, that they did not know what they were doing. Down to the present hour we have adopted the policy on both sides of the House, and we have pledged ourselves to the people to do everything that lay in our power to obtain a free market for the natural products of our country with the United States, and I say you must answer me the question as to whether that was an act of supreme folly or whether it was wise statesmanship on the part of both parties in this country to adopt that policy, before you ask me such a question as "who pays the duty?" I say that under this Bill which has been introduced—and which, I believe, will pass, for it does not require two-thirds of the Senate where the Republican majority is only one in the whole House to pass this Bill; it requires a majority of one only, and I am very sanguine that this Bill will pass during the present session. Modified it may be; but I am inclined to think that the amendments will be still more in the interests of Canada than as the Bill stands to-day. If this is the case, I think we may congratulate ourselves upon securing the free admission of our lumber, upon which was paid during the last year no less than $1,315,450. On copper ore made free by the Mills' Bill

we paid—or there was paid, to make it meet the views of the hon. gentlemen opposite more correctly—$96,945. On salt $21,992 duty was paid. This is rendered free by the Mills' Bill. I am sorry to find, as I hoped would be the case from the first copy of the Bill that came to me, that potatoes were not included amongst vegetables. I am sorry to find there is a doubt as to whether the term "vegetables not specially enumerated" will not exclude potatoes. In grappling with this policy of making the natural products of the two countries free, you do not expect any person who wants to carry a Bill to put a heavier load upon his shoulders than he is able to carry, lest he may break down and do nothing. You expect him to take it in detail, and, as I believe, you will find the policy contained in this Bill of making those natural products of Canada free, carried out until you have perfect freedom of intercourse between the natural products of Canada and the United States of America. Of wool we sent last year 1,319,309 lb. of one kind, and a variety of other kinds, upon which a duty was paid to the extent of $183,852. Now, as I say, on articles of prime importance and interest to Canada the removal of duty by the Mills' Bill amounts to no less than $1,800,193. You will be glad to hear that I do not intend to detain the House any longer. In discharge of the duties—the very onerous and important duties—of one of Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries at that conference, I have steadily kept in view what in my heart and judgment I believed were the best interests of Canada. In the measure which I have the honour to submit to this House, I believe will be found embodied a Bill which it is of the most vital importance to Canada to pass. As it stands to-day the Government of the United States have only my signature to sustain the course that has been taken. I was not there as the representative of the Government of Canada, nor can my signature to the treaty necessarily imply the approval and support of even the Government of Canada. I occupied on that occasion the

position of one of Her Majesty's plenipotentiaries, charged not only with the responsibility of my duty of what I owed to Canada, but also the responsibility of my duty to the Empire. I can only say, Sir, that I felt I would best discharge my duty to the Empire by steadily keeping in view the interest of Canada. I believe, Sir, that there is no way in which any public man in this country can promote the interests of the great Empire of which we form a part, better, or as well, as by taking such a course of public action, as will build up a great British community on this northern portion of the Continent of America. I believe, Sir, that we owe it to the Empire as well as to ourselves, steadily to keep in view every measure that will conduce to the rapid progress of Canada, the development of our inexhaustible resources and the building up of a great and powerful British Dominion on this side of the Atlantic. I say, Sir, that in the discharge of my duty I have steadily kept that conviction in view, and I believe the course which has been pursued will not only commend itself to the judgment and support of the great majority in this House, but that the great majority of the people in this country will feel that in the adoption of this treaty we are taking a step that is calculated to conduce to the progress and greatness and best interests of Canada.

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